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**STUDIES IN MEDIEVAL PAINTING**





PUBLISHED ON THE FOUNDATION ESTABLISHED  
IN MEMORY OF PHILIP HAMILTON McMILLAN  
OF THE CLASS OF 1894 YALE COLLEGE

BY THE SAME AUTHOR  
THREE ESSAYS IN METHOD  
AND OTHER VOLUMES



# STUDIES IN MEDIEVAL PAINTING

BY

Bernhard Berenson



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TO THE MEMORY OF  
CLAUDE PHILLIPS · EMILE BERTAUX  
GIOVANNI DE NICOLA





## PREFACE

**T**HE essays composing this volume, with the exception of the one on a Cavallinesque Nativity, have been written in the last ten years, and have been published in *Art in America*, in the *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, in the *Staedeljahrbuch in Dedalo*, and in the *Bollettino del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione*. Some of them now appear in English for the first time. The one on the *Speculum* has had the honor of accompanying an essay on the text by Dr. M. R. James, privately printed for the owner, Mr. T. H. Riches. To this discerning collector I am indebted for the photographs of both the manuscripts discussed in that article.

Time enough has passed since these essays were written to give me the detachment to see errors and to come upon alternative solutions to the problems raised. When the mistakes were not due to mere lapses of attention, when they were made while doing the best I could at the moment, I have left them.

The business of art may be to conceal how the effect has been achieved. I do not happen to be acquainted with such perfection, although it may exist. But research should show so clearly the steps leading to a conclusion, that any competent student may follow and see for himself whether these do, or do not, necessarily end where the author expected them to go. Research proceeds by trial and error, and must guard against any assumption of infallibility. The art historian should be no more of a prophet or priest, patriot or politician,

than anybody else who tries to find out just what happened in the past, how it happened, and, if possible, why.

Two or three of the papers here reprinted have been supplemented with brief discussions. There is nothing, however, to change in the conclusion that the Kahn and Hamilton Madonnas are medieval Greek masterpieces dating probably from just before the Latin conquest of Constantinople. And I ask permission to say here that in the ten years since this idea was put forth, I have examined not a few remains of East Christian art, whether in the form of mosaic or fresco, panel or illuminated manuscript, whether wood carving or ivory, steatite, stone, or marble.

The paper on the *Speculum* was meant to be an essay in Method, although, in fact, it may prove to be more interesting as a groping effort to get at the reason why provincial and peripheral art at all periods bears such strong resemblance to Metropolitan art when established forms are breaking down. It was an interest in this problem which urged me more than I was aware at the time to write the essay, and it vaguely foreshadows inquiries which I hope to pursue later in a book on the decline and recovery of form in the arts of visual representation.

B. B.

Settignano, January 20, 1930.



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## TWO TWELFTH-CENTURY PAINTINGS FROM CONSTANTINOPLE

STUDENTS of medieval art, after reacting against the Vasarian tradition which designated as "Byzantine" all pre-Giottesque paintings of that period, are now beginning to recognize that, after all, it tended in the right direction. The various attempts to derive the figure arts of the Middle Ages from indigenous sources—Italian, Nordic, Gaulish, Celtiberian, and the rest—have only gone to prove that these provincial activities were (except in merely ornamental decoration) more successful in preventing the spread of the metropolitan influence and manner than in creating any canon or iconography of their own.

But these years of controversy have not been entirely wasted, since, in searching for other influences, we have grown dissatisfied with the use of the old vague term "Byzantine" to comprise almost any design produced before 1300 or so. Even the more recent limitation of the term to the products of the eastern world, from Axum to Pskoff, from Baghdad to Belgrade, is still too vague. We have now reached the point where we may begin to distinguish between one province and another of this oriental world, between one epoch and another, and we are learning to recognize what differentiates their art from the contemporary art of western Christendom.

Of course the first step is to become familiar with the material. The field is a vast one; but for the purpose of this article, we can narrow it down somewhat by confining ourselves to the art of colored figure design, that is to say, to painting, mosaic, and illumination.

Now it is not easy to become familiar with medieval paint-

ing, even in our own countries. The frescoes of that time, when not renovated by the sentimental and sectarian fancy of the restorers, are generally grimy with dirt, or faded with use. Mosaics of the period are rare, and, more often than not, made over. Panel pictures are scarce, and generally in a pitiable state, having, as a rule, in the course of centuries, been turned into fetishes to heal or protect the believer, and being, as such, not only hidden by elaborate screens and frames and masses of votive offerings, but injured by the crowns and jewels and ornaments that have been nailed onto them, and stained by the sacred oils with which they used to be anointed before being carried in procession.

Yet we should be grateful if it were no worse than this with the painting of the more distant eastern lands. There the iconoclast, the native rebel, the Bulgar, and the Turk seem to have participated joyously in Nature's destructiveness. Outside of Constantinople, Salonica, Nicea,\* Daphni, and St. Luke in Phocis, and a few noted shrines such as those on Mt. Sinai, and here and there in Cyprus, there are in the East only fragmentary traces of mosaics before 1300, and those not to be compared in range with what still remains in Italy. Mural painting of these centuries, of an aesthetic value comparable to extant mosaics, is even rarer. As for contemporary panel pictures of the oriental Christian world still recognizable as works of art, and not reduced to the condition of squalid fetishes, I am acquainted with almost none except the two that form the subject of this article. The pictures of eastern origin that we see in the West are all of later date. They are specimens of the mummified art to which we were commonly

\* In Nicea all trace of mosaic disappeared during or after the recent Greek occupation. A consoling rumor whispers that they have not wholly perished. Some day fragments of them may look down at us from the walls of a museum. (March, 1929.)



accustomed to apply the word Byzantine, although they date from a time when the Christian Eastern Empire was dying, or dead, and when the Greek world, which had at one time inspired the whole of Christendom, and ruled its full half, had shrunk and shriveled into self-immuring prisons at Athos, or inaccessible *meteora*.

There remain, of course, the illuminated manuscripts; but, except in hole-and-corner civilizations, such as our own in the West between 800 and 1100, or that of the Iranian Plateau since Sassanian times—civilizations lacking in permanent metropolitan centers—miniature painting was never more than a reduced and pale reflection of the more serious figure arts flourishing in the capitals. It cannot count as an independent achievement.

In Constantinople, however, the art of painting, the art in its amplest, deepest, and noblest sense, must have flourished as nowhere else. Until the great Venetian betrayal in 1204, Constantinople, despite many vicissitudes, was the metropolis of European and of nearer Asian civilization. There is no reason for assuming that traditions of good craftsmanship were ever lost there, as again and again they were lost in the West, or that the ideals of form were dragged down to the barbarous puerilities to which we declined in our darkest centuries. Throne, and altar, and fashion were doubtless zealous in support of the art, and ready to remunerate the master for his gifts and to pay for the most expensive materials. By the year 1200, painting all over Europe was as much Constantinopolitan, as for the last hundred years or so, it has been Parisian.

Imagine that all the pictures done in Paris by Frenchmen had disappeared, and that we could grope at their character from nothing better than the surviving canvases of such imitators—to name the most famous—as Sargent, or Zorn, or Liebermann, or

Sickert, or Mancini, or Sorolla. What a revelation it would be to discover a masterpiece by Manet or Degas! Quite as great a revelation of medieval art might be looked for if some masterpiece actually done in Constantinople should come to light.

I believe I have come across two such works, and I venture to introduce them to fellow students.

I do it with a certain diffidence. In the first place, this is not exactly my job. In medieval studies I am a neophyte, although it is, I hope, true that my experience of thirty-five years within the wide frontiers of Italian painting and the relation of that painting to other arts and other schools and other periods gives me certain intuitions. In the second place, I am not prepared to establish the character of the two pictures in question with the apparatus which I am accustomed to employ in my own speciality. For these reasons I hesitated whether I should at once draw attention to these two pictures as masterpieces which I was bold enough to attribute to the schools of Constantinople in the twelfth century, or whether I should wait, perhaps for years, until I could demonstrate my thesis with all the necessary scholarship.

The first alternative has prevailed, and I have decided to present my idea, or, if you will, my fancy, at all events my intuition, to other students, to confirm or to dissipate.

One of these pictures has already been made known. It was published several years ago by Doctor Sirén in the *Burlington Magazine* (Feb., 1918). Unfortunately, his attribution was not only wrong, but utterly misleading. He gave it to Pietro Cavallini, and thereby stifled interest, for obviously it is not by that master, and the attribution did not even set the student on the path, but left him in vexed confusion.

That certainly was my own state of mind toward a picture

which even in reproduction seemed a marvelous thing. Luckily it was not long before I saw an original by the same hand, and seeing was perceiving. My conclusion was confirmed last winter when finally I saw the first of these two paintings. Both were in New York, the first still remains in the collection of Mr. Otto Kahn, while the second when I saw it was in that of Mr. Carl Hamilton. Not only are they unmistakably by the same artist, but they clearly belong to the same moment of his career. Indeed, but for differences in pattern, in size, and in action, they are so identical that they may be described, estimated, and appreciated together.

In the Kahn panel (Fig. 1), the larger of the two, Our Lady sits somewhat sideways to our right, while the Child rests in her left arm and faces to left with a slight upward look as He blesses. In the medallions above are busts of angels. The head of the Blessed Virgin droops a little, and her face, of distinctly oriental character, with its delicately aquiline nose, plum-shaped eyes, and tiny mouth, is pathetic in its appeal for sympathy with all that she foresees of sheer human suffering for her Child, who is, to her, first of all her own baby.

In the Hamilton panel (Fig. 2) the Virgin faces to the right, exactly as in the Kahn design, but sits, so to speak, to the left. This singular *contrapposto*,\* which gives something uneasy to the figure, as if it could not settle into a comfortable position, heightens the pathos of Our Lady's face, and enhances, by contrast, the sovereign ease of the Infant God enshrined between her hands (Fig. 3). Unlike the urchin in the other painting, He is here the young emperor, descended no doubt from the Boy Deity of the triumphant and exultant fourth-century church, the hero,

\* It anticipates the action of the Virgin in Leonardo's cartoon in the Royal Academy, London.



omnipotent and wilful, of the Apocryphal "Gospel of the Infancy."

Apart from the differences between the children, the only other dissimilarity between two designs is in the shape of the thrones. In the Kahn version it is not remote from those we find in Italian thirteenth-century works. But the throne in the Hamilton picture is unusual, and, to my recollection, quite unparalleled west of the Adriatic. It looks as if the author had tried to reproduce an amphitheater, making a breach in it to seat the figure.

The coloring of the two pictures is identical—gorgeous scarlet and gold, dazzling ultramarine, and flesh tints almost as blond as Giotto's, although warmer. The tempera technique of both is so competent and so robust that, despite the wear and tear of seven centuries and more, the surfaces have suffered little or no damage and should require no retouching.

Coming to the calligraphy or notation, as we call the patterns wherewith all successful attempts at expression necessarily end, the most peculiar characteristic of these two masterpieces is the way the high lights are rendered. They resemble splashes which spurt out upon the draperies, and upon other projections, like the flare from a reflector (Fig. 4). The extraordinary thing about this rendering is that it does not degenerate into mere scrawls but remains almost faultlessly functional. Given the convention, its effectiveness is undeniable. It rivals any attempt made before or since to drape in a way that will most convincingly render the underlying structure.

And in every other respect the artist displays equal science and skill. Just as, although you may question his canon of the human figure, you cannot question his skill in rendering it, so you may refuse to accept his limitations; but once you admit



them, you cannot deny that he knows exactly what he wants to do and does it to perfection. Contour, modeling, color, make the pictures what they are, as much as the *tessere* make a mosaic, and you cannot think of them as better or worse than the design. They are the design. There is no point at which you can say, as you often have to say in the presence of western pre-Giottesque painting, "I see what the artist means, but what a pity he could not express it better!" The author of these pictures says exactly what he means.

I repeat that I cannot hope to give every reason for the conviction within me that these two panels are from the hand of a master who participated in the traditions and methods of the schools of Constantinople no later than 1200. I will, however, present a few indications that point to this view.

First and foremost, the quality, which leads, by the method of exclusion, straight to Constantinople. Before Giotto there is nothing in Italy comparable to the beauty of form and color and to the technical perfection of this painter. It were absurd to compare with him any Italian artist, even Cimabue and Duccio, let alone Margaritone, Guido, the Berlinghieri, Giunta, or Coppo. Their draftsmanship is far less firm, swift, and sure as line, while their technique is so much less efficient that their color by comparison seems grimy, or thin, or faded.\* And outside Italy, it is surely not in Germany or England or even in France that this quality of pattern and execution in painting existed. Still less in Spain.

As, however, these two panels were found in Spain (at Calahorra, Prov. of Logroño), it may be asked why they are not Span-

\* Cavallini does not enter the comparison, because unfortunately no panel painting by him has been identified.

ish. The answer is simple. There is, to our knowledge, nothing like them that can be proved to have originated in that peninsula. The splendid accumulations of panel and fresco paintings at Vich and at Barcelona, and the numerous remains still *in situ*, are, it is true, fascinating and exciting, but none have the quality or even the pattern and types of our panels. The nearest approach to them with which I am acquainted is a "Madonna" in the Cathedral sacristy of Valencia (Fig. 5). The reproduction will show what a difference there is between this imitation of some Constantinopolitan work like ours, and the radiant originals.\* I therefore assume from the quality of design and draftsmanship and from the perfection of the execution, that the Kahn and Hamilton pictures could have been produced nowhere else than at Constantinople. I am strengthened in this belief by the extreme distinction of the features of both the Madonnas and the elegance, almost fashionableness, of their silhouettes. I add that the sheer expensiveness of the colors speaks for a high origin. Only Court circles, perhaps Majesty alone, could afford materials in themselves so precious.

For the economic factor is not to be ignored in judging of works of art. The greater the genius, the more marvelous will be the masterpieces that he will create independently of all materials except the barest necessities. And, in fact, as Italian art matured into the "Classical Age," it more and more discarded the adventitious aid of gold, ultramarine, and other precious substances. In earlier centuries, however, when the church, or picture, or statue, or altar cloth was not yet perceived as a work of

\* I do not, by the way, guarantee that even this imitation, which is no worse and no better than the average "Byzantine" Madonna painted in the Latin world, is necessarily Spanish.

Revising this article (March, 1929), I can say definitely that this Madonna is Greek, but provincial and much later.

art, but only as an offering to Deity (with perhaps an underlying, but seldom conscious, impulse toward display and pride of possession) nothing could be too rare or costly. Those who could afford it, gave of the best. Thus, one can almost test the wealth of medieval communities by the quality of gold on their panel paintings. How sumptuous and massive is the gold on a Trecento picture painted in Paris or Florence as compared, let us say, with that on a picture of the same period produced in a relatively impoverished community like Siena!

Color so gorgeous, so radiant, so pure as we have here is perhaps never seen in western painting of the earlier Middle Ages, and certainly not in anything that can be proved to have been done before the fourteenth century. But as resemblances to it are not so hard to establish in the dependent art of illuminated manuscripts, we may infer that this type of color was by no means unknown in painting.

There is, however, one surviving form of eastern art to which it bears a startling resemblance in quality, the art of mosaic. Indeed it would seem that what the painter of the Kahn and Hamilton Madonnas aimed at was actually to compete with this art in splendor and permanence. That would account for his notation, and particularly for his method of rendering the high lights with splashes and spurts of gold and white and ultramarine. It is a method no mere painter, preoccupied with the technique of his particular craft, would have hit upon, but it is just the method which no mosaicist could avoid, who wished to produce effects both sumptuous and august as well as plastic.

Constantinopolitan taste seems to have hankered after portable mosaics, but they were necessarily, like the one in the Florentine Opera del Duomo, on a miniature scale. Sooner or later it would inevitably occur to a gifted and skilful painter to produce



the same effects with handier materials. And these simili-mosaic paintings must have been very fashionable, and may have tended to subdue most picture-making to their semblance, for we find many western Byzantine pictures imitating this style, with decreasing intelligence and diminished magnificence. All these panels, however, with three or four exceptions (including a fair approach to ours in the Pisa Gallery) are only hatched in gold and silver and never have the great pools and streams of light we find in the Hamilton and Kahn "Madonnas," and in the most gorgeous mosaics known to us. To illustrate my meaning, I reproduce a "Christ" from St. Mark's, Venice (Fig. 6), deplorably inferior as feeling and structure, because two centuries later than our paintings, but with the identical notation for the high lights retained through all that lapse of time.\*

So much for this substitute for *chiaroscuro*, which, outside of mosaics, can never be found in this perfection either in Italy or in any other western land. Most probably it originated in Constantinople.

A no less striking peculiarity of one of our two pictures, namely the Hamilton "Madonna," is the amphitheater throne. As observed earlier, the exact like of it is not found west of the Adriatic. In Latin-Byzantine painting, thrones are scarcely ever round, let alone so definitely like an amphitheater. In the Greek world it is, I suspect, not rare. It can be seen at Salonica and Mistra for instance,† and as these frescoes date from some two centuries later, they witness to the persistence of the tradition. The nearest approach to this throne that we have in the West is in

\* It is perhaps worth while to suggest that the high lights and draperies of western twelfth- and thirteenth-century enamels were also due to the imitation of mosaics.

† See Millet's "Mistra," plates 79 and 137. Diehl, etc., "Monuments chrétiens de Salonique," plate 219.



an unmistakably Greek work, a fourteenth-century mosaic in the baptistery of St. Mark's in Venice, representing St. Gregory (photo. Alinari, 32,410), where, however, it is reduced to a mere horseshoe shape.\* But while the shape of the throne in Mr. Hamilton's picture is unusual, its detail is of common occurrence in Byzantine design, as, for instance, the perspective and lighting of the arched and rectangular openings, and the snakelike frieze between the courses. When the ornamentation is of this fine quality and is, at the same time, almost identical with similar ornamentation in such masterpieces of Constantinopolitan miniature painting as the tenth-century Psalter of the Bibliothèque Nationale and the Menologion of Basil II in the Vatican, we may be confident that we are in the presence of work done under the shadow of Santa Sophia.

Every detail of these two paintings thus leads us back to Constantinople, all the more when to the peculiarities that characterize Byzantine design in a general sense is added the distinction and the perfection that grace only the best metropolitan work. Thus, the spare refined features of the Blessed Virgin, of a cast so aristocratically oriental, are not to be found in any Latin imitations, not even in the best of them, the Pisans of the thirteenth century. In the mosaics of the Martorana at Palermo, designed by Greek workmen, you see her exact face and features, and you find them again, rather coarsened, in the mosaics of a somewhat later and poorer style at Monreale. We reproduce one example from each (Figs. 7 and 8). It is to be noted, by the way, how similar is the action and even the type of Child in the Monreale lunette and in the Kahn picture, and how, in turn, He is still nearer, both in type and expression, to the urchins in a

\* This shape of throne lingered on in Russia till 1600.

work of such indisputably Greek origin as the eleventh-century mosaics at Daphni near Athens (Fig. 9). Finally, the angels (Figs. 10 and 11) in the medallions of the two pictures, with their lovely faces and graceful movement, with their staves and stoles and globes, encounter their exact likeness in the Archangel Raphael (Fig. 12) in the Palatine Chapel at Palermo, in a medallion with the head of St. Andronicus at Daphni, and in various medallions with angels and heads of saints in Santa Sophia at Kiew, all unquestionably Greek.

So much may be said regarding the origin of the Kahn and Hamilton Madonnas. I shall barely touch on the question of their date. It will have been noted that the works to which they have the closest resemblances are the mosaics at Palermo, not later than 1150, at Daphni, not later than 1100, and at Kiew, not later than 1050. Nevertheless, I am inclined to place our pictures toward 1200, and for the following reasons.

The amphitheater throne does not seem to occur anywhere earlier than 1200, and, even if it did, there are certain minute considerations regarding its structure which point toward that date. Then, the palm of the Blessed Virgin's right hand is turned away from her, and it may be suspected that that was an innovation of about the same date. Moreover, there is something in the folds of the draperies, as, for instance, the serpentine one over the Virgin's right knee, which suggests a later moment than 1150; while the notation itself (I refer to the way the high lights are rendered) may also point to a more recent period than the rest of the design necessarily indicates. The nearest approach to this notation in panel painting known to me is to be seen in an effaced but most majestic "Christ" of obvious Greek origin once at Santa Francesca Romana (Fig. 13). But that noble work, although

surely not later than the third quarter of the thirteenth century,\* is already so mannered in detail (as, for instance, the rather stiff folds and the fingers, which look as if inserted in sockets) that one may assume the lapse of two or even three generations to account for so much rigidity to have set in and prevailed.

Now for the last lap. Granting that the Kahn and Hamilton Madonnas are Greek works of about 1200, and that they are masterpieces from Constantinople itself, how can we account for their having been found in a small town on the borders of Old Castile and Navarre?

Readers of Heyd or Schaube are aware of the manifold connections between the different countries bordering on the Mediterranean through even the worst moments of the Middle Ages, let alone the epoch of the Crusades, when that sea was crossed and recrossed with a frequency and facility anticipating our own times. And those of us who have looked into the history of commerce during the eleventh and twelfth centuries need not be surprised to find anything anywhere. Had these two Constantinopolitan paintings been discovered nearer the coast, the safest conclusion would be that they had got there through good honest trade, just as a picture of identical origin is recorded to have reached Bologna in 1136. Calahorra is, however, far away from the sea, and the expense of transporting two fairly bulky panels like these, even with the waters of the Ebro to facilitate carriage, would have reduced the chances of profit to a discouraging margin. But these pictures may well have reached Calahorra in another way, namely as booty brought back from the sack of Con-

\* In execution perhaps as late as 1500, but a faithful imitation of a fourteenth-century original. It has, by the way, disappeared from S. Francesca Romana since this essay was first published (March, 1929).



stantinople in 1204. Perhaps the Crusader's conscience pricked him and he dedicated his trophies to the Virgin and saints. More likely, with all other "parfit gentils knights" of his time, he gloried in enriching his own shrine with sacred relics, images, and pictures, regardless of how they fell into his hands; for in those faraway times people were benighted enough to behave for religion exactly as nowadays they do for patriotism.

Villehardouin speaks of the great palaces at Constantinople, of the treasure found there—*ut tantum tota non videatur possidere Latinitas*, as the Emperor Baldwin announced in his *communiqué* to the western world—and of the leaders to whose share they fell, and then goes on to say of the rank and file:

Les autres gens qui furent espandus parmi la vile gaaignèrent assès et fu si grans le gaaigns que nus de vos en sauroit dire le nombre; si comme d'or et d'argent, de vesselmente, de pierres précieuses, de dras de soie, de samis, de robes vaires et grises, et hermines, et de tous les fiers avoirs qui oncques furent en terre trovés. . . . Puis que li mondes fu estorés n'ot en une cité tant de gaaigné.\*

Another contemporary adds:

Ils coururent sus à Sainte Yglise premièrement et brisièrent les abées et les robèrent.

There is no mention of paintings in these words, but here is what Paulin Paris says of the same pillage:

un nombre infini d'objets précieux, tels que reliques, PEINTURES, sculptures, pierres-gravées, livres et bas reliefs fut alors transporté de Constantinople dans les Eglises de France et d'Italie.

And we may be sure *li gaaignes* fell not only to France and Italy, but to Flanders of course, and the nearer Spains no less. Looted from some great palace chapel, or from a church or monastery, or perhaps robbed from some artist in his studio by the

\* Villehardouin, "De la Conquête de Constantinople," CVII.



## *Early Paintings from Constantinople* 15

gentle Crusader *amore crucis incensus*, these two paintings have now wandered

farther West  
Than their sires' Islands of the Blest.\*

I am not unaware that my thesis has been far from completely demonstrated. And yet I am convinced of its truth. Should more competent scholars end by approving it, we should acquire a starting point for the study of Byzantine painting before the end of the great epoch, a starting point that has hitherto been lacking, or at least unknown in the West. Only then shall we be in a position to frame some idea of what painting was like in Constantinople, to differentiate it from the productions of the provinces and countries that were dominated by its traditions, and, finally, by comparison, to estimate the creative energy of its ablest imitators elsewhere, down to Cavallini, Cimabue, and Duccio.

It need scarcely be said that these two pictures do not render a complete account of all that painting had achieved in the center of Greek culture before that culture was so nearly destroyed by the Latins.

For one thing, it is hazardous to judge from the image of the Madonna alone, what the range of the artist may have been in compositions of more than one figure, or in narrative. For an-

\* Since completing this article, I have come across in Dalton's most satisfactory book on *Byzantine Art and Archaeology* (p. 522) an historical instance that furnishes a perfect parallel to the one to which I refer. In the Cathedral of Limburg on the Lahn there is a reliquary of the tenth century that is regarded as one of the masterpieces of Byzantine enamel. It is known to have been offered to the nuns of Stuben near Trier by Heinrich von Uelmen, who brought it back with him from the Sack of Constantinople.

other thing, at Constantinople as elsewhere, wherever and whenever the arts are alive, there must have been different schools, of the Monastery as well as of the Court, of the people as well as of fashionable society, but tending, for all their differences, toward the general divisions of "stretched" and "slack," of "dark" and "fair"—the points between which swings the pendulum of the entire history of figure-painting,—indeed of all design.

It is perhaps a principle as simple, as rudimentary as this which is behind the history of all art.

We have long possessed enough examples in imitations of provincial and foreign origin illustrating the tendency to the "slack" (both "dark" and "fair") to enable us to trace the artistic ancestry of such western artists as Duccio and Cimabue. The immense historical interest of the Kahn and Hamilton pictures is precisely that they come to prove that even the rigid traditions of Byzantium could not arrest the swinging of the art pendulum. They show for the first time, the existence of what I have called the "tight" and "fair" school of art within the metropolis itself, whose characteristics are great precision, elegance, and suavity, with clearness and gorgeousness of color. It is in this school that we find the ancestry of the hitherto imperfectly-accounted-for Cavallini, and ultimately, that of Giotto himself.

[Vallombrosa, August, 1921.]





FIG. I

XII. CENTURY MADONNA FROM CONSTANTINOPLE  
OTTO KAHN COLLECTION, NEW YORK





FIG. 2

XII. CENTURY MADONNA FROM CONSTANTINOPLE  
FORMERLY CARL HAMILTON COLLECTION, NEW YORK





FIG. 3

HEADS FROM HAMILTON MADONNA





FIG. 4

HANDS AND DRAPERY FROM HAMILTON MADONNA





FIG. 5

BYZANTINE MADONNA: NOT BEFORE 1300  
CATHEDRAL, VALENCIA





FIG. 6

XIV. CENTURY MOSAIC: CHRIST BLESSING  
ST. MARK'S, VENICE





FIG. 7

XII. CENTURY MOSAIC: JOHN ANTIOCHENUS AT FEET  
OF VIRGIN

MARTORANA, PALERMO





FIG. 8

XII. CENTURY MOSAIC: MADONNA  
CATHEDRAL, MONREALE





FIG. 9

XI. CENTURY MOSAIC: CHRIST'S ENTRY INTO JERUSALEM  
DAPHNI



FIG. 10

ANGEL FROM KAHN MADONNA

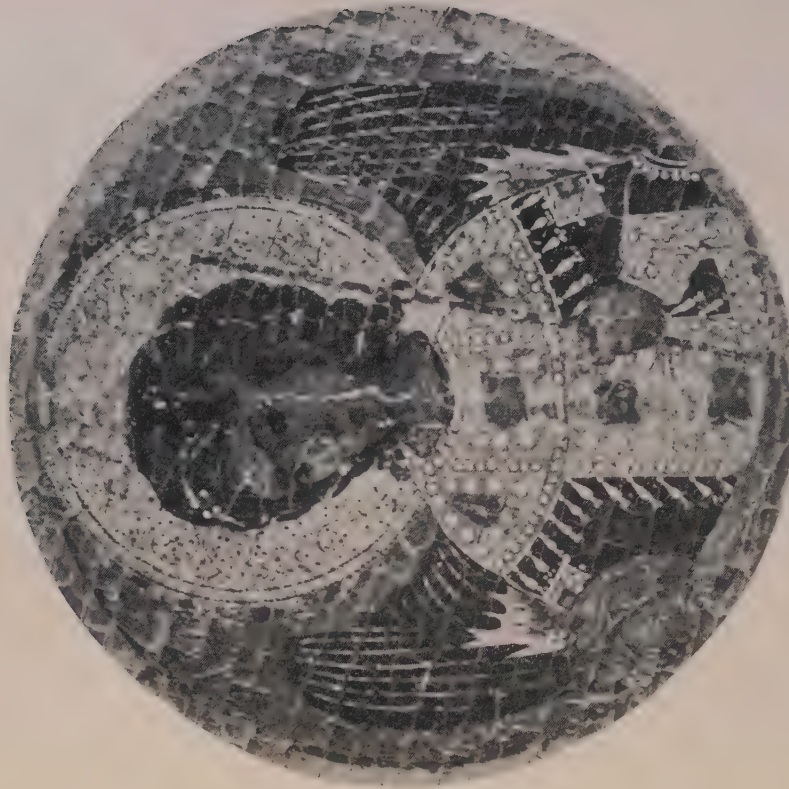


FIG. 11

ANGEL FROM KAHN MADONNA





FIG. 12

XII. CENTURY MOSAIC: ANGEL  
CAPPELLA PALATINA, PALERMO



FIG. 13

BYZANTINE CHRIST ENTHRONED  
FORMERLY IN S. FRANCESCA ROMANA, ROME



## A NEWLY DISCOVERED CIMABUE

**H**OW far we Americans have traveled in one generation! The same collector who thirty years ago would have bought nothing that was not Barbizon, who then had no familiarity with other names in Italian art than Raphael and Leonardo and Michelangelo, will now send out runners to secure him Cavallinis, Margaritones, Vigorosos and Guidos, Berlinghieris and Deodatis—or at least pictures of their glorious epoch, whether, in each case, correctly attributed or not.

The truth is that this period, for all that it is now becoming fashionable, so to speak, has not yet been studied in sufficient detail to make sure that the names affixed to these impressive works are actually those of the artists who created them, or, indeed, in some cases, even of the school to which they are supposed to belong. Having myself been led, in the brief intervals of work forced on me, as on everyone, by the great manquake which has overtaken the world, to a deeper study of the monuments in all forms of art in the centuries preceding the period of the Renaissance, to which I had especially devoted myself till then, I have become aware of two things which bear upon what I have to say here—one, that this was perhaps the very greatest period of art, since the Greeks, in the world's history; and the other, that it has not been studied, on its pictorial side at least, with scholarly conscientiousness.

I need not go further afield than our own collections to illustrate both points. One instance will suffice. Two rarely beautiful "Madonnas" have recently come to New York as "Cavallinis." If other aliens, even as desirable and invaluable as these, arrived with such queer papers, our police would scarcely have

allowed them to land in our now so inaccessible Hermit-Empire. Both these masterpieces—for they are no less—have come from Spain, where, apparently, they have been from the beginning. Why are they called Cavallini? Why are they Italian at all? No reason seems to be forthcoming, except that their unknown begetter and the great Roman artist both lived in that uncharted period of painting which we call pre-Giottesque.

Reserving to myself the pleasure of publishing on another occasion what I have to say about these so-called Cavallinis,\* and perhaps about the way the great Dugento and Trecento names have been misapplied to the various hieratic Madonnas and impressive Saints that have recently arrived—just as recklessly as, twenty years ago, the great Renaissance names used to be sprinkled over Italian paintings of a later style—I want here to speak of a triptych once belonging to Mr. Carl W. Hamilton, which I venture to attribute to Cimabue.

Yes, to Cimabue!

I should have preferred to include all I have to say on the subject—and it is not a little—in a study I am preparing on the painting of this period, for I confess that the slapdash way of presenting a picture grows more and more repugnant to me. As, however, New Yorkers have already had the privilege of seeing the original, it is but fair that other readers of *Art in America* should have a chance to make acquaintance with it, through a reproduction at least. Here and now I can offer only a few words of introduction. They will be but an intimation of what I hope some day to say about Cimabue.

A half-length figure of Our Lord occupies the middle panel

\* See in this volume "Two Twelfth Century Paintings from Constantinople."



of the triptych. On His right is St. Peter: on the left, St. James\* (Fig. 14).

Our Lord is seen full-face in the act of blessing. In His left hand is an open book, on the parchment leaves of which are inscribed in magnificent uncials the words EGO SUM LUX MUNDI. The arrangement of the right hand is peculiar in that the middle and index fingers are crossed. It would be interesting to know what it signifies.

One wonders for whom the blessing is intended, for the expression of the countenance of Christ is not necessarily benevolent. It has perhaps more of the super-Emperor judging rebellious Byzantines than of the much earlier Good Shepherd, or the much later Sacred Heart of Jesus.

Yet He looks just, if severe, and calm, if slightly disdainful. He certainly is not the furiously indignant Christ Who appeared not infrequently to appalled artists in the twelfth century and even later.

Peter is the rather square-headed, curly-bearded, choleric creature of affectionate medieval tradition. He does not grasp the keys with any firmness, and the jeweled cross is merely inserted, not held, in his right hand. This, too, must have had some symbolical notion behind it. We find it almost universally in Byzantine and Byzantinizing art down to Duccio's great "Majesty." It would be absurd to assume that the painters of that style could not indicate grasp and grip had they not deliberately avoided it, as, indeed, on into much later times, certain artists, not the meanest, avoided representing the Holy Child as adequately supported in the arms of His Mother.

Who the third figure is we should be at a loss to know were

\* The middle panel is 31 by 22 inches. The side panels 26½ by 14½ inches each. The curved tops are modern.

it not for the small cockleshell on his right shoulder. That vouches for his being the Saint who drew to his shrine in the farthest west of the medieval world almost as many pilgrims as wandered to Rome or even to Jerusalem. St. James is serene and gracious. With both hands he holds a scroll.

He really holds it. Does not his quite adequate action suggest the reason for the lack of sufficient support for the cross or even the keys of Peter? The more sacred the object, the more self-sustaining. The cross needs no support at all, the keys only a little more, the scroll enough.

Each figure is framed in by a narrow border of geometrized floral design and jewel-like color.

I do not like to say much about color. Not that I do not enjoy it, not that I do not regard it as important. But until the reproduction of color has become almost as satisfactory as that of line and mass, the reader has no control, and the writer can abandon himself to any orgy of verbiage that facility inspires. And besides, color is as yet too much of a sensation and too little of an idea to be a subject for precise, let alone tolerably rational discourse.

For all of which reasons I shall, as is my wont, say but little of the color. What is most striking and even unexpected about it is that it is so blond and limpid. Thanks to the horrid state in which most paintings before Giotto have come down to us, we are accustomed to think of them as heavy, grim, and opaque. But here, for a miracle, we have a well-preserved work, and lo! it shows no dirty green underpainting, no ropelike contours, no squalid shadows, none of the repellent griminess that we associate with the thirteenth century. The gold ground is in complete harmony with the rest, and serves to enhance the tone no less than the mass of the figures.

So much for the iconography and the direct appeal of this picture. Let us now attempt to appreciate its more intrinsic value as a work of art.

First the composition: the three separate figures constitute but one perspicuously concentric and even dramatic design, as free from pomp as it is free from rhetoric; and yet it is grand, monumental. The masses take full possession of the spaces, filling them almost to overcrowding, as never again till the sixteenth century. They do not shrink timidly into the background, as in dominantly Gothic and Quattrocento design. All converge upon the center—mass and line, and look. And yet there is no approach to simplicistic balance and rhythms. On the contrary, these are studiously avoided.

The hands play an unusual part. Here again, it took three centuries before a Leonardo appeared to make the hands again as important as the face.

The volumes refrain from the slightest suggestion of "cubism," and yet are splendidly geometrical, as in all great art. The masses avoid the slovenly bulge, and the contours the sagging, flabby line of most works carved and painted during the so-called "Dark Ages." And yet they are curiously remote from the revived precision and consequent tightness of a Cavallini.

The drawing is free, the modeling large, or, in the language that has prevailed in my time, "impressionistic." The drapery is faultless and in the grand manner. The technique alone is not quite sure of itself: the light and shade, which is of a quality most unusual in a medieval work, has to be helped out with hatching.

The author of this masterpiece must have held the highest rank among the painters of his day. If we could decide when that day was, it would make it easier to discover who the artist was, for there could not have been many like him.



Let us begin with the most obvious externals.

To my knowledge, circumscribed as it is, altarpieces consisting of half-length figures framed separately are not readily found before the last quarter of the thirteenth century. Indeed, I cannot recall even one of earlier date. As late as 1270 Guido, in his "Madonna with four Saints" of the Sienese Academy (Fig. 15) does not isolate the figures, although each has its own canopy. These canopies are plainly round-arched except for the central arch, which is trefled, and yet it was done in 1270. The tops of our panels, the equivalents of Guido's canopies, are distinctly more advanced. The middle one is all but frankly pointed in the Gothic fashion, while the side ones, although they have been partly renewed, could never have been merely round-arched. These definite indications lead us to the last quarter of the thirteenth century, for it was then only that, in central Italy, Gothic patterns began to be all-pervading.

We come next to the narrow strips of ornament that edge the panels and frame the figures. These are of a Byzantine-Romanesque character. Who does not recall with what gem-like glory, like angels with flaming swords, such strips of ornament edge round the earliest windows of Chartres Cathedral? A close parallel to what we see in this triptych is to be found in the grim Crucifix with eight scenes from the Passion, that used to hang in the Uffizi as No. 4 (photo. Alinari 30,504). It is a work of the thirteenth century, probably of the third quarter. There are also similar strips on Berlinghieri's famous Crucifix at Lucca, but minuter and tighter. Other instances in Italo-Byzantine painting would not be hard to find. It will suffice, however, to draw attention to one of the latest. It is in Duccio's early triptych in the National Gallery. The ornamentation has lost all semblance to

the floral, retains no continuity, and has become purely geometrical.

We shall now glance at Our Lord's hand blessing, at James's scroll, at Peter's keys, and at the lettering on the open book, and then have done with the more material sign-marks.

The exact position of the fingers is found everywhere, as far away from Tuscany, even from the probable date of our triptych, as the Pantocrator in the Byzantine mosaics at Cefalù. It seems to have been something of a fashion in central Italy during the last quarter of the Dugento, if we may be allowed to conclude from three such conspicuous examples as Guido's Christ in the pediment of his altarpiece in the Siena Town Hall, the Christ on the ceiling of the Upper Church of St. Francis at Assisi, and the Christ in a *mihrab* arch at the top of a Crucifix by Deodato Orlandi at Lucca. This last is dated 1288, and I doubt whether the other two are more than ten or fifteen years earlier. (Knowing students will correctly infer that I range myself with those who place Guido's activity in the second and not the first half of the thirteenth century.) As for the Assisi ceiling, I am not aware that serious attempts have been made to date it earlier.

The way a scroll is rolled and tied is, like everything else in the phenomenal universe, subject to change. Thus, the Christ in the Martorana at Palermo, who crowns Roger King of Sicily holds a scroll that is perfectly flat at top and bottom, and is tied with two separate cords (photo. Brogi, 11,374). That belongs to the twelfth century. In Guido's "Madonna with four Saints" referred to earlier in this article (Fig. 15) and in another "Madonna" in the Siena Academy (photo. Anderson, 21,109), as well as in the Christ in the ceiling at Assisi, the scrolls are tied across with diagonal cords, and bulge out at the top very much as in our St. James.



In keys, too, fashion—that expression of the impulse to get away no matter from or for what, to attain no matter what—prevails. In the twelfth century mosaics decorating the palace chapel of the Norman kings at Palermo, St. Peter carries keys with handles well proportioned and flatly carved at the top, concave below, with simple catches. A century or more later, the handle became perfectly circular and disproportionately small, and the catch more complicated, as we find them in Duccio's early triptych in the Siena Academy, in Deodato Orlandi's polyptych of 1301 in the Pisa Gallery, and in another polyptych of later date in the Jarves Collection (No. 12), ascribed to him, with some likelihood, by Doctor Sirén.

If we may rely on externals, such externals as the greatest art submits to, perhaps unconsciously, at all events impersonally, our triptych belongs to the last quarter of the thirteenth century. And, to reinforce this conclusion, there are one or two more items to consider, namely the lettering and the halo of the central figure.

The lettering is an ornate and yet impressive, even monumental, kind of Beneventine uncial. Oddly enough, the Monte Cassino authorities offer 1282 as the date when this kind of character attained its perfection. I venture to claim that quality for our script. The closest approaches to it known to me are in the mosaics at Florence and Pisa. In the scrolls unfurled by the prophets under the throne in Cimabue's altarpiece in the Uffizi the aesthetic impression is absolutely identical. A paleographic analysis would, I am convinced, only confirm this impression, but it would be too tedious to make it here.

Finally, Our Lord's halo:—each arm of its cross is decorated with five points. That is a rare peculiarity, but it occurs in the halo behind "Christ as Judge" among the mosaics in the



Baptistry of Florence, which we know to have been from the last quarter of the thirteenth century, as well as in the San Miniato mosaic of 1297.

Having, I trust, succeeded in persuading fellow-students that this triptych is a work of the last quarter of the thirteenth century, and having found that the works which in external characteristics stand closest to it are all central Italian, and assuming at the same time, as we must, that in its style and for its period it is a great masterpiece, I boldly ask:—Who but Cimabue could have been its author?

When I say “Cimabue,” I mean the artist who designed the darkened and faded but sublime frescoes, now but “cloudy symbols of some high romance,” in the transept of the Upper Church at Assisi, the sadly damaged “Madonna with St. Francis” in the Lower Church, the great altarpiece at Florence, severe and imposing as a Romanesque façade, and the somewhat less imposing but still very wonderful Madonnas (studio work perchance) in the Servi at Bologna and in the Louvre.

If not this genius whom I have in mind when I utter the name “Cimabue,” who else could have painted this triptych?

Among known contemporaries there is but one great enough, the Roman Cavallini; but between him and Cimabue there are the exact differences that obtained nearly two hundred years later between the equally great and kindred artists, Mantegna and Giovanni Bellini. The one is precise and schematic as the other is large and spontaneous. And our triptych is in its style and for its epoch very large and free, not only in conception but in handling as well.

It is true there may have been other great painters at the time. But if Roman, they surely were, like Torriti and Rusuti,

closer to Cavallini. There remains but Tuscany and—the “Byzantine question.”

That question I can hardly attempt to discuss in this place and at this time. I must beg fellow-students to believe that I have carefully considered the possibility that some unknown Greek artist, working in central Italy, painted the triptych. I have dismissed the idea as improbable, and I do not, in fact, regard it even as possible, although some reserve we must make in our present state of ignorance.

We come to this, then, that the triptych, being certainly not Roman, and almost as certainly not Byzantine, can only be Tuscan and in that case only by Cimabue.

I will not waste time displaying my acquaintance with the Dugento painters of Tuscany, big and little, to dismiss in the end their claims to the authorship of this picture. I will assume it has been done, and devote the rest of this article to examining whether there is anything in this masterpiece that should prevent its attribution to Cimabue. I shall on the whole, confine myself to more quantitative, formal details, for I have already reiterated my conviction that as a work of art I regard this triptych as in every way worthy of Cimabue.

Shall we begin with the types? Unfortunately Cimabue's altarpieces do not furnish close comparisons, and the Assisi frescoes are too darkened and discolored. Still there are some not uninteresting points to be taken.

As if to prove how very Byzantine our artist still was, the St. James is of a facial type that recalls nothing so much as those in the mosaics of the Martorana and Royal Palace Chapel at Palermo, dating, we remember, from the middle years of the twelfth century.

St. Peter, on the other hand, resembles one of the grand

medallion heads painted toward the end of the thirteenth century above the present ceiling at St. Mary Major at Rome (Toesca, *L'Arte*, 1904, pp. 312 *et seq.*). The resemblance is so obvious that it need not be demonstrated. For the present purpose, the differences are far more important (Fig. 16). The Roman head looks like a schematization of ours. The locks of the head and beard, for instance, suggest, as compared with those in our St. Peter, the conventionalization of a playing-card rather than a spontaneous creation by no matter how tradition-bound an artist. The most likely inference is that the decorator of St. Mary Major, who manifestly was a Roman reared in the traditions which nourished Cavallini as well, must have acted as assistant to Cimabue in Rome, and that in consequence this Roman painter largely modified his manner, approaching it as closely as he could to Cimabue's.

Indeed, I should not wonder if he was acquainted with the triptych now before us, and was copying it consciously or unconsciously while frescoing the head we have been examining. Otherwise it would certainly be a singular coincidence that the only three medallions at St. Mary's that happen to be tolerably well preserved not only recall the separate figures in our masterpiece, but are related to each other as in our composition. No other, it is true, comes so close as the head recalling Peter. But, despite its more apocalyptic character no one can fail to recognize the likeness of the central medallion (Fig. 17) to our Christ, nor, although it has been ever so much more transformed, of the third head (Fig. 18) to our St. James.

Later on, we may return for a moment to these medallions. Here it suffices to conclude that no serious student of the period would regard them as furnishing proof that our triptych was *not* by Cimabue, but rather that it *was* by him.



We must return to our main thesis, which has now become the quest of the next of kin to the Christ in this triptych.

I repeat my regret that Cimabue's frescoes at Assisi are too darkened and discolored to furnish terms for satisfactory comparison. Yet a careful study of the various heads of Our Lord in the different compositions, but especially in the one where He appears over the thrones and elders in the midst of seven trumpeting angels (Aubert's *Cimabue*, Plate 25), ends by convincing one that there must have been a resemblance amounting almost to identity. Among more legible works, however, the greatest resemblance of all is to the Christs in the apse mosaics at San Miniato at Florence and in the Cathedral of Pisa.

Making due allowance for the schematization inherent in the craft, at least as practiced in Tuscany toward 1300, and still more for recent restoration, we can easily recognize the same proportions, the same hollow cheeks, the same mouth and beard and hair, and of course the same shade of "Divine Discontent"—especially in the Christ at San Miniato (Fig. 19).

The last-named is dated 1297, and the other, as we know, was three or four years later. Besides, one of the few documents about Cimabue that remain tells us that for this Pisan mosaic he in 1301 began the figure of the Evangelist. Now if at that time Cimabue was, as his younger contemporary, Dante, no mean judge, makes him, the dominant artistic personality of Florence, there is nothing more likely than that the designers of these mosaics should have had a type of Christ that was derived from *his*. And so it follows that the great resemblance of these two mosaic Christs, particularly of the one at San Miniato, to the one in our painting, can tend only to prove that this painting was by Cimabue.

Among the frescoes in the nave of the Upper Church of St.

Francis at Assisi there is one representing the Kiss of Judas (Fig. 20). On entirely independent grounds, I have, along with other students, for many years regarded this as a work close to Cimabue, probably designed, although almost certainly not executed by him. Well! the resemblance of the Christ in that fresco to the one in the present triptych, is, in all but expression, close, and, allowing for the difference of medium and difference of hand, singularly close.

Earlier in this essay it was observed that the three figures of our composition not only amply fill but almost crowd the spaces allotted them, tending, as in all great monumental art, to expand beyond rather than to shrink into their frames. We find this tendency thoroughly exemplified in the Prophets, particularly the outer ones, under the Madonna's throne in the Florence altarpiece.

It would not only be tedious (which I should not half mind), but, owing to the fact that I cannot furnish adequate reproductions, inconclusive as well (a graver offense!) to proceed at this point to make minute comparisons of hair, folds of drapery, shapes of hands, etc., with similar details in the frescoes at Assisi. I beg the student to believe that I *have* made them all, and at the same time I offer him a reproduction of one of the least darkened and discolored of the frescoes, the one representing the Apostles gathered at the deathbed of the Blessed Virgin (Fig. 21). If, armed with a powerful glass and enduring patience, he will look closely, he will be rewarded with the discovery of enough points of identity to repay him for his labor. But one item I must insist upon, because to a student with my experience it amounts to geometrical proof. It is the right hand of Our Lady. To me it is inconceivable that the draughtsman who drew it did not also draw the hand of Peter in the triptych.

This triptych, then, is as surely by Cimabue as scholarship at the present day can ascertain. That being so, a great deal follows that cannot be discussed here. How shall one exaggerate the importance for our better acquaintance of the thirteenth century, of a masterpiece like this, in the greatest style, and, what is perhaps even more precious, in marvelous, in almost miraculous preservation? At last we can study the technique and coloring of the panel painting of that great period.

Before leaving the subject for the present, a word must be said about the probable date of this precious triptych.

It is still very Byzantine. It is tighter than the Assisi frescoes. It is more meticulous than the Florence altarpiece. Probably, then, it is earlier than any other known work of Cimabue. Is it possible that the master painted it as early as 1272, and in Rome, where he is known to have been sojourning in that year? A little later, but quite likely in Rome. Otherwise why should the Roman painter who worked at St. Mary Major well before the end of the century, have copied these figures?

[Vallombrosa, August, 1920.]

*Note.* Since the above was published there has appeared the first volume of Prof. Pietro Toesca's *Storia dell' Arte in Italia*. It is a masterpiece of historical scholarship. No work of art has escaped his notice, no bit of information has been neglected. It does not throw out fifty misleading suggestions for one happy guess. It is prudent, cautious, and yet bold. Toesca in approaching Giotto not only ascribes to him the frescoes with the story of St. Francis in the Upper Church at Assisi, as anyone must who has given due thought to all the facts and all the relations of the problem, but has had the courage to suggest that the Cavallinesque designs above them are earlier works by the same artist. He goes further,



and hints that the medallions at St. Mary Major, mentioned in this essay, may be by the same great genius in a phase more youthful still.

And if these medallions were painted by the pupil of Cimabue before he fell entirely under the influence of Cavallini, would the likeness to the three heads in our triptych, if Toesca's hints were taken up, not confirm the attribution to Cimabue? Did not tradition make Giotto the pupil of Cimabue, and may not Cimabue have taken the lad to Rome, and, for reasons unknown, left him there to become the close follower, the assistant perhaps of Cavallini?

One correction must be made. Sometime after this article appeared, my friend Mr. Edward Fowles, told me that the triptych formed part of the Artaud de Montor Collection, and was reproduced in the catalogue thereof (Paris, 1843, pp. 30 and 31). Only that to my no small delight our triptych turns out to have been a polyptych. Two other heads went with it, a Baptist and an Ursula. The woodcuts betray nothing that could impugn the attempt to attribute the entire work to Cimabue. I reproduce them here (Figs. 22 and 23) in the hope that their present owners will let one know of their whereabouts.

[March, 1929.]





FIG. 14

CIMABUE TRIPTYCH

FORMERLY CARL HAMILTON COLLECTION, NEW YORK





FIG. 15

GUIDO DA SIENA: ALTARPIECE DATED 1270  
ACADEMY, SIENA

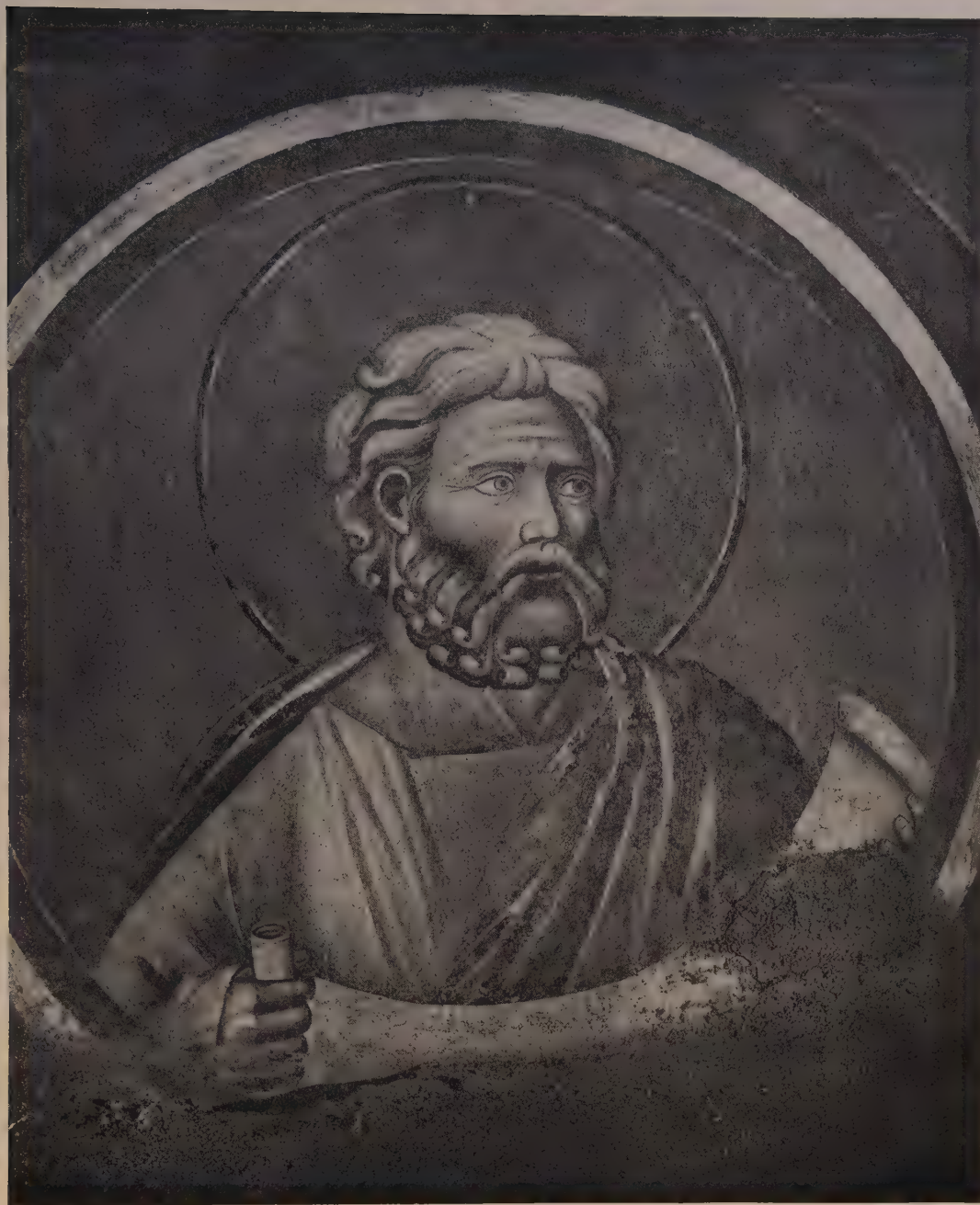


FIG. 16

ROMAN FOLLOWER OF CIMABUE. FRESCO: HEAD OF APOSTLE  
S. MARIA MAGGIORE, ROME





FIG. 17

ROMAN FOLLOWER OF CIMABUE. FRESCO: HEAD OF APOSTLE  
S. MARIA MAGGIORE, ROME



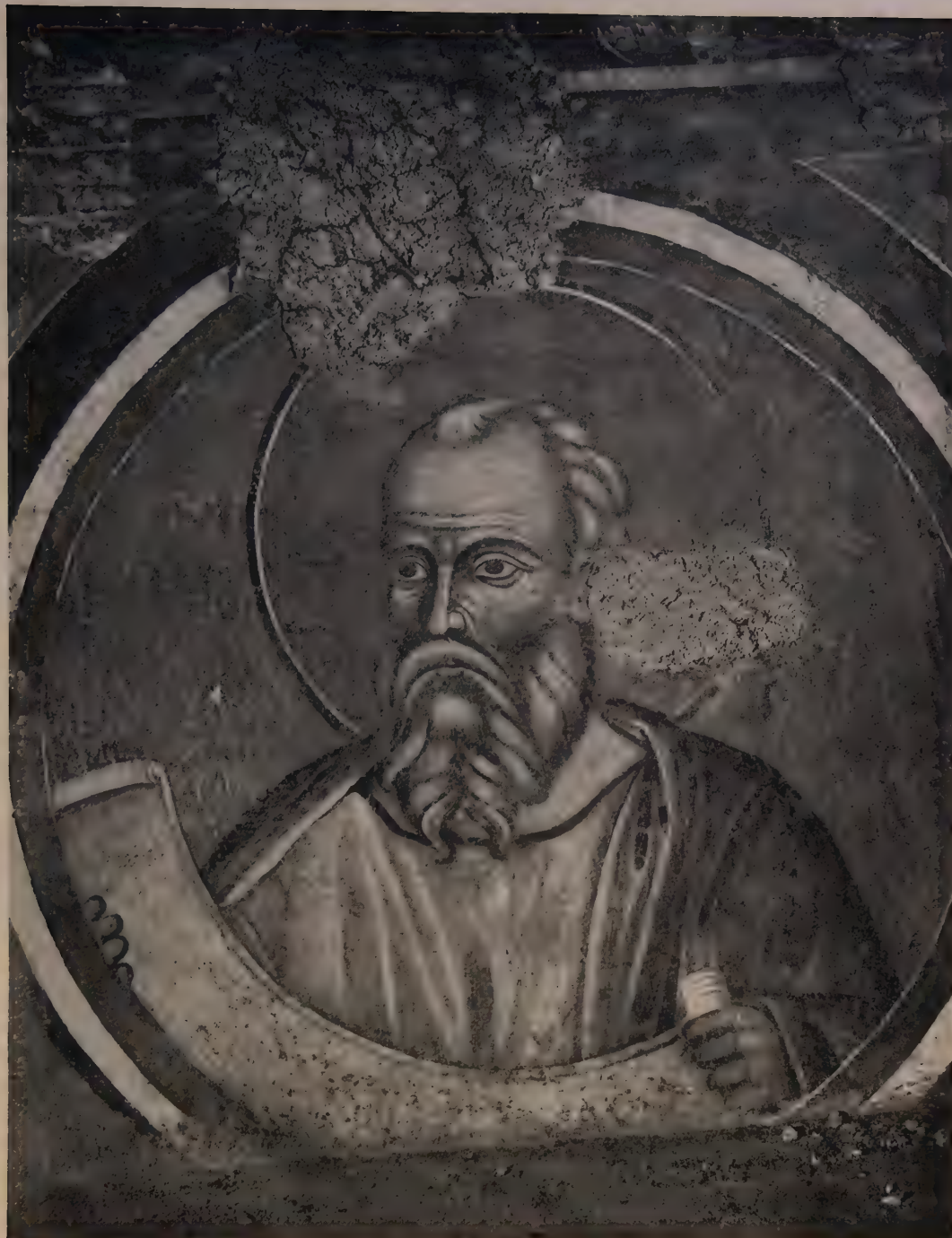


FIG. 18

ROMAN FOLLOWER OF CIMABUE. FRESCO: HEAD OF APOSTLE  
S. MARIA MAGGIORE, ROME



FIG. 19

FOLLOWER OF CIMABUE. MOSAIC DATED 1297: CHRIST IN GLORY  
S. MINIATO, FLORENCE





FIG. 20

ASSISTANT OF CIMABUE. DETAIL FROM FRESCO:  
BETRAYAL OF JUDAS  
UPPER CHURCH OF ST. FRANCIS, ASSISI





FIG. 21

CIMABUE. FRESCO: DORMITION OF VIRGIN  
UPPER CHURCH OF ST. FRANCIS, ASSISI



FIG. 22

CIMABUE; ST. URSULA  
LOST PANEL OF POLYPTYCH



FIG. 23

CIMABUE; JOHN THE BAPTIST  
LOST PANEL OF POLYPTYCH





A NATIVITY AND ADORATION OF THE SCHOOL  
OF PIETRO CAVALLINI IN THE COLLECTION  
OF MR. JOHN G. JOHNSON

ON a boat-shaped mattress, perilously balanced on the steep ledge of a bluish rock, the Virgin reclines, looking to her left at the coffin-like crib in which lies the Holy Child wrapped in swaddling clothes. By the crib lie an ox and an ass of unusually small size. An angel clings to the right edge of the rock, looking at the Virgin, and on the corresponding side is another angel, while, above the first, a third angel, with a face of ecstasy greets the rising sun. The Star of Bethlehem is suspended in the air over the Virgin's head, and the three Magi, of somewhat smaller size, kneel at her feet. The eldest in front, with his crown thrown down, holds a precious casket in his hands, while the other two gaze at the star, one of them pointing at it. Under the edge of the glacier-like rock, two women are bathing the Holy Child in a goblet-shaped marble bowl, while on their left St. Joseph, with his flowered staff, sits crouching in tearful contemplation. Opposite him, two shepherds look up at the star, while their sheep browse about their feet. The picture is on wood, with an arched top, and is 14½ inches high and 12 inches wide (Fig. 24).

This little panel, iconographically still extremely Byzantine, and Byzantine with marked classical elements, is, nevertheless, unmistakably of Italian origin, and thus owes its interest to the fact that it is an important document in the history of Italian painting just before Giotto's time. Such documents are rare, and time will be well spent in seeking to extract from it all the information it may yield about that little-known period.

The Byzantine elements are the first to strike the attention—the term Byzantine here implying nothing more controversial than would be implied by the expression “pre-Giottesque.” Thus, the goblet-shaped marble bowl in which the Child is being washed, is almost always present in pre-Giottesque treatments of the subject, and, so far as I am aware, always present in the treatment by actual Byzantine artists or craftsmen. The boat-shaped mattress, on which the Virgin is reclining, belongs to the same category, but most Byzantine of all is the heavenly body appearing in the sky. In this case our artist seems to have forgotten the original intention of the motive, for he treats it as the rising sun, placing the star below it, in the sky, over the Virgin’s head. In real Byzantine art, however, we see that this vast disk, or arc of a disk, is meant to be the star itself, for it emits stout bamboo-like beams which reach down to the Child. A readily remembered instance is the mosaic at the Martorana at Palermo, and a similar example is to be seen in a Byzantine steatite diptych belonging to the Chapter of Toledo Cathedral (Fig. 25).

This diptych is, in fact, from the purely iconographical point of view, the nearest approach I can find to our panel. The Virgin reclines, as in our painting, on a boat-shaped mattress, with the Child in a crib at her side, while Magi bring offerings and angels stand to right and left adoring. Below, again, the two women are washing the Infant in a goblet-shaped bowl, and Joseph sits meditating. Only, the composition is differently oriented, and instead of two, there is but one shepherd, and he is above at the right, instead of below at the left.

It might well occur to one to ask why, since all the details of this painting are treated so closely in the Byzantine manner, it may not itself be not merely a pre-Giottesque but a genuine Byzantine work. The answer is not easy, as it rests more upon gen-

eral considerations than upon the comparison of details, and even these general considerations do not necessarily bear one only interpretation. It is true that the blond coloring and the technique suggest the West and Italy, not the East and Constantinople, but, on the other hand, few Byzantine panel paintings as ancient as this have come down to us. Again, the sense of form is more robust, more substantial, than we are accustomed to in the painting of Byzantium, but here also it must be allowed that it is chiefly from miniatures that we have gained our idea of the Byzantine treatment of form. And once more, the argument that here there is something of the fulness and inner substance of Niccolò Pisano and the south Italian art he descends from—as we see particularly in the all but classically beautiful figure of the younger woman attendant—might be used to point to one of those returns to antiquity to which Byzantine art was periodically subject.

But my impression persists that here we see a pre-Giottesque Italian hand. Whatever may have been the case in the rest of Europe, the connection between south and even central Italian art with the art of Byzantium was certainly close enough to account for everything in this panel. That the influence of Constantinople was spread all over Italy by both bronze and mosaic, not to speak of the minor arts, is everywhere admitted, and it would seem superfluous to remind students of the inevitable effect of such influence upon painting, were it not that there are writers in vogue who ignore or even deny them. But surely it is not possible to question the intimate relation of Duccio or Cavallini, the two most eminent painters of Italy before Giotto, with Byzantine art.

On the hypothesis, therefore, that this panel is, as I am convinced it is, really Italian, its Byzantine elements need not surprise us. Nor even if we go further, as I am inclined to do, and



regard it as, more precisely, Roman, does any difficulty arise. There is nothing in the picture more Byzantine than in Duccio's work, for example; nothing, in fact, which cannot be accounted for by supposing it to have been painted by a very close follower of Cavallini. Yet the steps taken to arrive at this point are not easy to retrace. The impressions that lead to it are vague, manifold and microscopically minute, as all so-called instinctive reactions must be, when they are rooted, so to speak, in the crumbled dust of endless, half-remembered details of past experience.

Happily, however, having reached this point by the aid of impressions almost impossible to analyze, details of comparison and confirmation are not wanting. Although Cavallini's mosaics in S. Maria Trastevere in Rome do not furnish materials wherewith to judge whether a small painting be really from his own hand or not, they more than suffice to establish a close affiliation. Two of these compositions give the data required. They are the Nativity and the Birth of the Virgin (Figs. 26 and 27).

Setting aside the general features, such as the goblet-shaped bowl and the large luminary in the sky, whether sun or star, the actual details of treatment within the general canon are close enough to justify our classing them together. The reclining Virgin of our panel is similar in pose to the St. Anne in the mosaic, not only in silhouette but in the minutest details of draping. The attendant women in the mosaic are even more classical than in the painting, and the naked bodies of the children are extraordinarily alike. The pointing shepherds have the identical action and gesture, the two cribs have the same mistakes in perspective, while the St. Joseph, although in the mosaic turned around and holding his head in his hand, is nevertheless, as a pattern, nearly identical with the St. Joseph in the painting. Only the mosaics throughout show more traces of the Byzantine return to classi-



FIG. 24

SCHOOL OF CAVALLINI: NATIVITY

JOHN G. JOHNSON COLLECTION, PHILADELPHIA





FIG. 25

BYZANTINE DIPTYCH IN STEATITE  
CATHEDRAL TREASURY, TOLEDO





FIG. 26

CAVALLINI. MOSAIC: BIRTH OF VIRGIN  
 S. MARIA IN TRASTEVERE, ROME





FIG. 27

CAVALLINI. MOSAIC: NATIVITY  
S. MARIA IN TRASTEVERE, ROME

cism, as may be clearly seen in the bit of late Greco-Roman genre representing the shepherd piping to his flock. How near to the Greek world Cavallini remained may be inferred from the fact that the Virgin as an Infant is labeled in Greek. This point is made with the object of suggesting that if Cavallini himself was so classical and so Greek, and yet was not a Byzantine, the Byzantine and classical elements of our little panel do not preclude its being Italian, in its turn—all the more that they are less pronounced.

Our picture, then, in all probability, was painted by a close follower of Cavallini, and by one who, judging from the loveliness of this one piece of work, might well have been heard of later, as Giotto was in the next generation, but for the Babylonian Captivity, namely the desertion of the Papal Court from Rome, which cut down one of the fairest promises for art that Italy ever had.

[1911.]





AN ANTIPHONARY WITH MINIATURES BY  
LIPPO VANNI\*

LIPPO VANNI is one of the many artists whom we archaeologists, historians, and critics have, in the last forty or fifty years, rescued from oblivion. It is true that the name of Lippo Vanni had come down to us, and a few bits of information regarding him had been recovered from the archives by Milanese and others. But no works seemed to have survived except two half-effaced heads of a fresco in the cloister of S. Domenico at Siena, known to have been painted in 1372.

Neither these ghosts, representing all that Crowe and Cavalcaselle knew of the artist's achievement, nor the more substantial figure in the Salimbeni-Vivai Collection at Florence of a knee-length St. Paul that bore the signature of Lippo Vanni along the blade of the sword, ever gave me any quickening idea of his character or capacity. They adhered too much to the indiscriminated following of Simone Martini that still awaits the amateur who will differentiate between the chief and his partner Memmi, and clearly define the artistic personality of the latter, distinguishing it from a band who wear the same livery and fly the same flag.

Some twenty-three years ago Count Resse, a well-known antiquary at the time, brought me the photograph of a triptych signed by Lippo Vanni and dated 1358. As I could not get to see the original, I naturally did not think of publishing my windfall. Happily some eight years later the Italian Ministry of Public Instruction turned its attention to this work and had it properly

\* The illustrations are, unless otherwise stated, by Lippo Vanni and after originals in the Walter Berry Antiphonary, now at the Fogg Museum, Harvard College, Cambridge, Mass.

reproduced. Thereupon Mr. F. M. Perkins published it in the *Rassegna d'Arte Senese* for 1910 with one page of text, in which he said nothing of interest about the triptych in question, but initiated the reconstruction of the painter's artistic personality by ascribing to him a well-known "Madonna," passing for a Simone or Memmi, at that time the property of Richard Norton of Boston and at the present moment of Mr. Philip Lehman in New York.

Later, Mr. Perkins identified a Madonna at Le Mans as Lippo Vanni's (*Rassegna d'Arte*, 1914) and again extended and modified the outline of the artist's personality. Meanwhile the late Giacomo de Nicola had published note after note, based upon exploration in the archives, as well as upon intimate acquaintance with the pictures in the original. He summed up his researches with an article in the *Rassegna d'Arte* (Milan) for May-June, 1919, in which he gave a list of all the works known to him at that date. Among them was not only the little "Miracle of St. Nicolas," of gorgeous coloring and vigorous handling, in the Louvre (Donation Duseigneur, exhibited with the Arconati-Visconti Collection) but, what is more to our present purpose, several miniatures in one choir book, and several more scattered in other choir books now in the Cathedral Library at Siena.

I am happy to add to this meager list of illuminations an antiphonary containing forty miniatures by Lippo Vanni. They are unfortunately not all of the importance of those rediscovered or identified by De Nicola, but to those which are of nearly the same interest, I would now call attention.

They adorn an antiphonary which the late Mr. Walter



V. R. Berry of Paris,\* left to the Fogg Museum of Harvard University.

First a word about the book. It is a folio consisting of 346 parchment leaves, each side covered with lettering and musical notation. At the beginning of every sentence the scribe placed an elaborate initial, which he tinted with washes of thin, transparent color. His dainty spirals and intricate knots still betray the influence of Irish calligraphists.

To return to the illuminator, he is as large and bold, as free and sketchy as the scribe is painstaking and minute. Instead of the fine point of a pen, he uses, to obtain his effects, a well-saturated brush. As a rule, his backgrounds are ultramarine. His foliage and tendrils show blue, scarlet, green, orange, pink, and yellow, and, scattered among them, roundels of bright gold. His faces tend to be blonde, and the hair of his figures, when not gray, is apt to be of a dull yellow. The more elaborately illuminated pages are of an appropriateness of design, of a freshness of touch, and of a tempered splendor that have not often been surpassed in Trecento Italy.

So much for the general description. And now let us examine the more remarkable of the single miniatures.

In an initial letter A (fol. I. r., Fig. 28), we see King David lifting in his hands the Christ Child and looking up to the Eternal. If this interpretation is right, and I confess I cannot think of another, the action may have been suggested by a poetical design due no doubt to Giotto. It is best known in its earliest version, the one in the Upper Church of St. Francis at Assisi, and represents that Saint saying mass at Greccio on Christmas Eve, and

\* Mr. Berry was good enough to allow me to study them at my own leisure in my lodgings, and also to have the photographs taken which illustrate these pages.

finding the Christ Child in person in his arms as he bends over the crib.\*

There is no direct connection between this subject and the text which it adorns rather than illustrates, nor can I discover any relation whatever between the Twenty-fifth Psalm and the floral pattern which frames it. This consists of a tendril which at times stiffens into a stalk and again softens into long leaves which now wave quietly, and now dart out, and again furl back. As you follow the stalk on the right, it first runs into a jewel and then becomes a winged cupid—the cupid, who since Pompeian times never ceased haunting the minds of artists, not even in the darkest Middle Ages—and this cupid holds up his leg with one hand and with the other puts a trumpet to his mouth. From this trumpet emerges the stalk once more, and around it, as before, curl and knot the clinging leaves.

This is typical enough of fourteenth-century illuminated ornament and of Italian in particular, but below we see something less expected. Where the tendrils curl away from each other instead of meeting, a butterfly hovers on the one, while on the other a youthful nude creeps along stealthily, hiding under a cloth, which he is evidently intending to throw over the butterfly.

A less absurd and more charming use of the human figure for mere ornament will perhaps not be found since it was first used by the Greeks in connection with the tendril. It is not unworthy of the Lippo Vanni who illuminated a page in one of the choir books at Siena, identified by Professor De Nicola as having been done by him in 1345. Let us give that a moment's attention (Fig. 29).

\* After I had published this, my friend, Mr. Eric Maclagan, told me that the miniature represents David offering his own soul, and I gratefully accept this interpretation.

## *Harmony of Decoration and Illustration* 43

The figure of the Risen Christ in the letter R on that page we may return to later, but it does not interest us at present. Nor shall we waste time insisting upon the obvious identity in character and quality of the ornamentation with that in Mr. Berry's. I want to speak of something more interesting, namely the figures so entwined with the lower course of the tendril that they might easily escape notice. And yet they are nothing less than the soldiers who sleep too well while guarding the tomb of Our Lord. And as in the fourteenth century, the soldiery most prominently opposed to Christendom was the Tartar, one of the sleepers has the type, the braided hair and the peaked fur cap, and all have the scimitars, soft robes, and long shields of those Mongols who then stood for all Saracens, as Saracens in turn had come to represent the power of heathen Rome. Seldom have the two principal aims of the visual arts, namely decoration and illustration, been so perfectly combined as in the way these supple figures are made to follow the curves and twists of the tendril, as if they too were pliant and elastic vegetable forms.

I cannot resist mentioning still another tendril of Mr. Berry's sumptuous antiphonary (Fig. 30). As imaginative decoration it is not to be compared with the last, but it is delightfully fanciful, and exquisitely light of touch. On the vertical shoot on the right hovers a butterfly, on the horizontal extension a flamingo faces a duck which squats at the point where the tendril becomes half bird and half dragon, emitting from its beak a stalk around which curl down other iris-like leaves.

This stalk supports a letter E in which nestles the next subject that I was going to examine (folio 23 verso, Fig. 31). It is an Epiphany of almost circular, compact design, the like of which one would not be surprised to discover in French thirteenth-century glass, or enamel. And indeed there is unmistakable northern



influence here. None too Italian are the large curved spikes of the crown upon the head of the middle-aged king who points upward to the star. As for this motive, it is so rare in central Italy as to lead me to hazard the suggestion that its occurrence there, or, for that matter, elsewhere in Italy, is a sign of contact with Transalpine art, although itself of Byzantine origin. Such contact was not difficult for miniaturists, owing to the facility of transporting their wares and the traditional mobility of the profession. The dominant character of the composition and the types belongs, however, to a Sieneese who had known Simone and the Lorenzetti, although the kneeling Mage recalls Giotto as well. Here as elsewhere Lippo Vanni appears less unaware of Florence than most of his Sieneese contemporaries.

The Epiphany we have been studying invites comparison with one at S. Gimignano, by the best known and most admired Sieneese illuminator of the Trecento, Niccolò di Ser Sozzo Tagliacci (Fig. 32). The patterns are nearly identical so that the differences are almost purely qualitative. Not only are the types in our antiphonary at once more grave and more gracious, as of a nobler race of beings, not only is the action more alive with a sort of joyful and radiant solemnity, but the touch is at once lighter and surer. It is flower-like, while in the other it is relatively heavy, and the foliage stiff and sharp-edged enough to suggest a decalcomania. Now arises the question of priority in invention. It is not easy to decide, seeing we do not know the date of either of these compositions, and considering how much contemporary illuminators in the same country, let alone the same school, resemble each other. There is, however, one clue worth following. In our Epiphany, one of the kings, with a gesture full of earnestness, draws his younger companion's attention to the star, a motive which a little while ago I ventured to declare foreign to

central Italy. In fact the S. Gimignano version misunderstands and bungles it. The middle figure points up vaguely but no star appears. The figure in profile looks yearningly at nothing. May we not conclude that Tagliacci imitated Vanni?

Turning back to folio 17 verso, we discover in the initial P of *Puer natus* a Nativity of Our Lord (Fig. 33). The tendril changes into the jagged rock of the cavern as elsewhere we have seen it change into living forms. As a scene it could scarcely be staged more pictorially or interpreted more humanly. And for the last time I allow myself to draw attention to the flowing rhythms, the relaxed forms, and the perfect freedom of the touch.

Only the Joys of Our Lady are illustrated in this antiphonary, and none of her Sorrows. After the Nativity and the Adoration, we next encounter on folio 145 verso, in a letter R, the Resurrection of Our Lord (Fig. 34). Here He is not seen, as in the Sienese choir book (Fig. 29), solemn and awe-inspiring, and although deploying the banner of victory, joylessly displaying His wounds, but floating in this scene out of the tomb with a look of gladness on His face, and although one hand holds a banner the other grasps an olive branch, as if to bring peace as well as victory. This addition to the motive of the Resurrection, an addition which lifts it to a higher plane of thought and feeling, must be of infrequent occurrence seeing that I cannot offhand recall another instance of it.

We next encounter on folio 165 verso, in an initial V, embossed as on a shield, a pattern which represents the Ascension of Our Lord (Fig. 35). His Mother, as is not seldom the case with Sienese painting, calls to mind the art of the Far East rather than anything Italian. Had I known this composition, with its aspiring, yearning disciples drawn toward the transfigured image of their ascending Master and the Blessed Virgin, so resigned, so

grateful in their midst, had I known this twenty or more years ago when I wrote "A Sienese Painter of the Franciscan Legend," I might have expressed myself less despairingly about the incapacity of western art, even in the Middle Ages, to express religious ecstasy. The distance between this miniaturist and the Buddhist painting I reproduced there is not so immeasurable as between that sublime Chinese design and Dürer's Mass of St. Gregory, with which I compared it.

And the distance is further diminished when we look at the Descent of the Holy Spirit in a letter S on folio 170 verso (Fig. 36). The rush of this initial's curves is like the swaying of a storm. It clears the sky and causes all living things to huddle together for comfort. Only here there is no storm. These noble figures are bowed in an ecstasy of surrender. They are fit vessels for the Holy Spirit.

If more adequate representations of these two sublime themes exist, they have not come to my notice; and even in Siena, the most spiritual of Italian schools, I do not know their equals. They are approached in the S. Gimignano miniatures of Tagliacci, and not too distantly in the easier subject of the Ascension (Venturi, *Storia*, V, 1036); but in the more subtle subject, the Descent of the Holy Spirit, we find no more than a gathering of worthy vestrymen having their pictures taken (Fig. 37).

It would seem as if the antiphonary we are studying precluded references to any of Our Lady's Sorrows. I cannot resist the temptation to introduce a Dormition (Fig. 38) which, although probably painted a few years later, might have formed part of this series. It is a small *predella* picture at Altenburg,\* of exquisite qualities of surface, color, and pattern but finer still as

\* It measures 27 cm. by 31 cm. Ascribed to Bartolo di Fredi, and, as it seemed to me twenty years ago, correctly. But the student who will take the trouble will



an illustration. It is not often that you see the apostles kneeling as if in adoration by Our Lady's bier, while the Savior out of the midst of seraphim takes her soul to His bosom, and Michael and the other great captains of heaven keep watch and ward.

Returning to the Walter Berry codex we come upon the last of Our Lady's Joys, her Assumption, fixed into an initial G on folio 234 verso (Fig. 39). The treatment of the subject is so definitely prescribed that unless the disciples are added below, choirs of angels above, and a landscape for background, there is scant occasion for any individuality of treatment. Nevertheless neither her Buddha-like serenity, nor the way the seraphs spread their wings so as to frame and sustain her have any touch of the commonplace. Here, for instance, there is no almond-shaped contrivance with a curved bar across it, the whole serving as a portable chair, that so frequently figures in the medieval treatment of the Ascension and the Assumption.

Considering that our chief interest in this study is not the manuscript and its decoration, but the artistic personality of Lippo Vanni as manifested in his miniatures, we are not called upon to describe in detail and to reproduce all the other subjects that illustrate the antiphonary. It will suffice to call attention to the few which, for reasons that will be given, seem most worth while.

Thus on folio 2 verso we see the virile, intellectual, commanding figure of the Prophet Isaiah invoking Jerusalem, here represented as a fortress standing on an escarped rock (Fig. 40). In his hand is a scroll with conventional signs that lead one to

end by seeing that it must be by Lippo Vanni. In intervening years I was tempted again and again to attribute it to Barna.

By the way, the apostle kneeling instead of standing and the presence of the archangel suggest Byzantine rather than Latin parallels.

expect Chaldaic or Aramaic letters, but they turn out to be mere arabesques. It would be interesting, by the way, to know the origin and history of these signs which occur commonly in medieval Italy, down to 1500 and later, and why they were preferred to legible Latin texts.

On folio 41 recto, framed in a tendril, occurs the gracious figure of the Savior in profile as if addressing His disciples (Fig. 41). The initial D of folio 102 verso frames the image of a beautiful youth, perhaps David, prior to his kingship (Fig. 42). The initial B of folio 178 verso (Fig. 43) reveals the three faces of the Blessed Trinity, conjoined necessarily like a Hindu Trimurti, but seen against a white light, august, aloof, sacrosanct.

I add a St. Michael (Fig. 44) in a letter B on folio 239 recto, because of the way the lithe youthful warrior fits into the rhythm and sinuosities of the tendril; and finally a Madonna and Child from folio 236 verso (Fig. 45), because every representation of Our Lady is important in the work of a master.

No one who has studied the illuminations we have just examined will fail to recognize that their author takes high rank among Trecento Italian miniaturists. Indeed he calls to mind the most wonderful of them all, the Master of the S. Giorgio codex in the Chapter House Library of St. Peter's (Venturi, *Storia*, Figs. 786-791, Van Marle, II, Fig. 183). He competes with him on the decorative side, in the vitality, suppleness, and softness of the tendril, and in the way this tendril, while sacrificing none of its qualities as pure design, submits to the demands of interpretive illustration. In grace of movement Vanni falls behind the other, but he surpasses him in spiritual insight. Therein he perhaps approaches one of the most inspiring poets of the Middle Ages, the

painter Barna of Siena. The latter, however, is ominous and more tragic, while Lippo is subtler and more unexpected.

Nor are the resemblances between the two merely in the nature of those that we discover between certain patterns of the Pacific Islands designed a few generations ago and certain others made by the Scandinavians toward the year 1000, or, to cite a parallel drawn from the Mediterranean past, between certain Egyptian Early Empire figures and those of Piero della Francesca, Antonello da Messina, and Luca Signorelli. One could call up thousands of such parallels taken from every corner of the earth, not excluding the Arctic coasts of Kamchatka, nor even the sources of the Yenisei, which, striking as they are, must yet be fortuitous, seeing that a causal relation between them is too improbable.

But Lippo Vanni and Barna were townsmen, and all but contemporaries. If the resemblances are, as we assume, more intimate than those natural to craftsmen working not only in the same spiritual atmosphere but on the same formulas, and, so to say, with the same tools, the question arises as to which preceded the other, and the answer must be sought in chronology; for an older artist is prevented by his own past, by the successful practice of his craft, by his best gifts, from completely assimilating the teaching and example of one younger.

The miniatures we have been studying in the Berry antiphonary cannot be of a very different date from those at Siena, identified by the late Giacomo de Nicola as being from 1345. They may be a year or two earlier, or a year or two later. It is not so easy to settle the exact decade, let alone the exact year in which were painted those frescoes in the Collegiate Church at S. Gimignano which we have in mind when we speak of Barna. The little we know of this artist we owe to Vasari, and according to



this authority it was while Barna was working upon these frescoes that he fell from a scaffolding and was killed. Vasari makes a point of giving the exact date of this event, namely 1381. He furthermore reports that Barna died young.

There have appeared no documents to disprove these statements, and if doubt is cast upon them it is because these frescoes seem so much in the style of Simone Martini that we jump to the conclusion that their author must have been his direct pupil. And as Simone left Siena for good in 1339 and died in 1344, Barna could not have studied with him and yet been young in 1381.

Archaeological evidence is in this case not as clear as we could wish. I have not discovered in the clothing, in the arms, in the furniture or in any of the accessories indications which might place those frescoes in one rather than in another of the decades between 1340 and 1380. But our acquaintance with these matters is slight, and until we so-called "connoisseurs" become as good archaeologists for the epoch we are studying as the students of classical antiquity are of theirs, possessing, like them, all the tools, and all the books of reference concerning every phase of the material and spiritual life of the periods under consideration, we shall inspire no more confidence than our know-nothing dandyism deserves. A good time may be coming when the beginner will be readily taught at twenty what I am at great cost trying to learn at sixty. When that time comes, it may be easy to point to this or that detail which obviously belongs to a definite decade, to a definite luster even.

And the study of form and style is in our case scarcely less satisfactory, and for similar reasons. We Morellians alone have hitherto given serious attention to Sienese painting, and I fear that our absorbing preoccupation has been, here as elsewhere, too exclusively with mere attribution. We might with justice be

charged with being in no more informing, no more intimate, no more illuminating relation to the work of art, the artist, and the epoch he worked in, than is the good honest biped whose business it is to stick, or stamp, or attach trade-marks to products of man's handiwork. Those of us who were not exhausted by labeling, spent their spare energies on praise and appreciation of the artists, who indeed deserved all they got, for with the exception of Simone and perhaps Duccio too, no group of such importance had been more neglected than the Sienese. Beyond that, to an analysis of style in its scarcely perceptible changes from decade to decade none of us advanced, although by rule of thumb most of us could have distinguished between a design of 1400 and one of seventy-five years earlier.

The problem is complicated by a trait that Sienese painting has in common with the art of the Far East, and of Byzantium too, namely a tendency to return to certain admired moments in the past. Thus it is obvious that after 1350 the influence of the Lorenzetti, which in the previous twenty or thirty years had been enormous, tends to disappear. Little survives of it on the formal side at least, by which I mean, of course, the line, the color, the spacing, the arabesque, the pattern, in short. Excepting for a greater spirituality, the painting of Siena between the death of the Lorenzetti and the rise of Sassetta seems to grow more and more like Simone, to whom it keeps looking back, as to its source.

It is thus not altogether easy to say with regard to Barna, who at first glance seems so devotedly the follower of Simone, whether he was actually his pupil. If he was, he must have worked decades earlier than the date assigned to him by Vasari. But there is something to be said for Vasari. In the first place, although he can be confused, inaccurate—and worse!—about minor matters, or when he has an object such as exalting his native town, Arezzo,

or running down a rival, he is not likely to have misreported a dramatic event which must have stamped itself upon the memory of the small community where it happened. Barna's death, its date, and his age were not things to forget. And that the painter did really die young we could in any case infer from the fact that we have few, if any, other certain works from his hand. Moreover one may discover in all the forms, and especially in the draperies, of these S. Gimignano frescoes traces of the general evolution of Sienese art, an evolution which culminates in the frescoes recently discovered on the walls of the Chapel of Our Lady in the Sienese Cathedral, which documents prove to have been executed by various hitherto unknown painters toward 1400. It would be tedious in this place, where it is not called for, to discuss this statement. I will follow it by another one, I hope correct, and more obvious. It is that although Barna, in his turn, had an overwhelming influence on his townsmen, it is not easy to discover unmistakable evidences of it much before 1380. No work, for instance, of Andrea Vanni or Bartolo di Fredi, where his influence is manifested, is of earlier date.

But if Barna—now we return to our subject—was still young in 1380, he may easily have been the pupil of Lippo Vanni. We have seen that the resemblances between them are significant, and we could trace them down to the minutest details. What concerns us here is that Lippo Vanni thus becomes one of the major links in the chain between Simone Martini and Sassetta, seeing that Barna proceeds from him and is, in turn, the inspirer of Bartolo di Fredi and Andrea Vanni.

Where did he himself start? Did he begin as De Nicola suggested (*Rassegna d'Arte*, May–June, 1919, p. 4), with the Lorenzetti and then turn back to Simone, as after what has been said a



little while ago, might seem plausible; or did he, as I believe, begin with the latter?\*

In the first place, although the younger people after 1350 undoubtedly were fascinated by the works of Simone, and tried deliberately to form their own style upon them, I am not aware that any painter who had been actually trained under the Lorenzetti, and produced works under their flag, as it were, turned his back upon them, to take up with the Simonesque formula. If that were the case there would inevitably be some traces left of the Lorenzetti in color and technique. Now the Lorenzetti are silver, or adust, or somber, compared with Simone and his faithful followers, who are radiantly golden and gay. So, on the whole, is Lippo Vanni, and most particularly in a series of panels which, in other respects also, such as the quality of line and modeling, stands closest to Simone of all his works. I refer to Mr. Lehman's Madonna (Fig. 46), formerly belonging to Mr. Richard Norton, and to two other panels in the same collection, attributed by the late Giacomo de Nicola to Lippo Vanni, representing St. Peter and St. Ansano,† all of which are so close to Simone as to have passed until recently for his own handiwork.

Now it is not only on the face of it improbable that paintings so close to Simone as these should have been done by a master who had worked with the Lorenzetti, but there may even be said to exist a psychological law of artistic development which forbids us to entertain the idea. The law is this. Painters are most timid, most laborious, most precise in the beginning of their careers, and

\* I refer to his conscious life as an artist, not to the literal beginning of his instruction in his craft. As his male figures show curious likenesses to Meo, his first teacher may have been of that minor master's following.

† Reproduced as 45 and 46 of the *Kleinberger Catalogue*, Nov. 17, 1917. No. 44 in the same exhibition was a companion panel, the Evangelist in the Blumenthal Collection, also of New York.

if they are gifted with capacities for growth they gradually get bolder, easier, and looser as they advance. The opposite course is never taken. Never does a painter begin, as, for example, Rembrandt ends, nor end as he begins. Never, to take another instance, could Giotto have painted toward the end of his career as the Stefaneschi polyptych of St. Peter's is painted.

In obedience to this law Lippo Vanni could have painted the Lehman panels at the beginning and at no other phase of his career, and at least ten years before he laid hand to the miniatures at Siena and in the Walter Berry codex, which date from about 1345. In these he appears as one who had had time not only to learn a great deal from the Lorenzetti but to achieve an ease, a boldness, a freedom, which is in marked contrast to his purely Simonesque manner. Part of this is no doubt due to the difference between tempera and miniature.

For this is the paradox: that until the end of the fourteenth century, miniature painting was a true, bold, loose, sketchy art, readier and quicker not only than tempera but even than fresco painting. The farther you trace it back the more does it exemplify these qualities, as is evident from even a superficial chronological survey of the art, from Ottonian to Carolingian, and farther still to the Rossano and Sinope miniatures as well as those of the Vienna "Genesis," and best of all to the Vatican Virgil and other series which go back to the Antique, and touch on the vigorous art, not yet fully appreciated, which is exemplified in the less conventional frescoes at Pompeii. Indeed only the Irish tinted penwork, so suggestive of the tattooing practiced by a civilization of a similar quality, the civilization of the pre-European New Zealander, forms an exception, or would form one if it were illumination and not penmanship. Elsewhere, except under strong Irish

influence, illustration done even with the pen alone can be, as we see in the Utrecht Psalter, surpassingly sketchy and swift.

For this art, "*ch'alluminare è chiamata in Parisi*," as for all the other medieval arts, the age of St. Louis marks for the vast spiritual empire of France the end of growth and the beginning of desiccation.

And to this empire, comprising the whole of Latin Christendom, Italy, for the fine arts at least, belongs less than even northern Scandinavia and western Spain. French architecture and sculpture, which dominated the rest of the Latin world till 1400, reached Italy later and penetrated it less than elsewhere, while Gothic painting scarcely touched Tuscany at all. In most of Italy, miniature painting remains till 1400 as little meticulous and as little attenuated in form as the most monumental aspects of the pictorial craft.

We must probably thank the introduction into common use of spectacles, and perhaps of magnifying glasses as well, for the delight in the representation of the almost microscopically small which began to invade illumination toward 1400, and which led ultimately to the identification of the term "miniature" with something fascinatingly diminutive, or unusually meticulous, tight, precise, and perchance timid. Since this time it has been the fashion to account for the presence in a picture of qualities answering to these adjectives by assuming that the author had first been a painter of miniatures. To Italian illuminators this scarcely applies at all earlier than 1400, although after that date they did tend to imitate their French and Flemish contemporaries—the result being that few things in the art of the past are more distasteful than the miniatures of, say, Monte di Giovanni, which, as Lilliputian paintings, whose chief attraction is their diminutive size, are not surpassed by the still admired Grimani Missal, and



find their match only in Clovio, the idol of Michelangelo and mid-Cinquecento Rome.

But in Lippo Vanni's time, and in Tuscany, I affirm, paradoxical as it may sound, that a miniaturist was likely to be bolder, looser, sketchier than a tempera painter, and that the addiction to miniature painting, as then practiced, would tend to loosen and free rather than tighten and tie up an artist's hands. We happen to have an excellent example and proof of what I mean to assert in the famous frontispiece to Virgil's *Eclogues*, that once belonged to Petrarch and is now preserved in the Ambrosiana at Milan. This illumination (Fig. 47) is by no less an artist than Simone Martini himself. In no panel or fresco is he so unrestrained, so fluent, so sketchy, or, as the late Professor Wickhoff and his hosts of followers would have said, so "impressionistic." The practice of the craft must have led Simone to be less the devotee of the line and more the adept of the brush than as a rule he had been elsewhere. As a fact the frescoes in St. Martin's chapel at Assisi are so much broader, looser, readier than any other frescoes of his, let alone tempera paintings, that one would expect that before going to work upon them, he had done a great deal of illuminating. Unhappily there survives no trace of such activity. The solitary masterpiece in the Ambrosiana must be of later date.

But with Lippo Vanni, the case is different. We have enough of his miniatures remaining to see that at a certain time they must have been his chief occupation. The practice of that art must have affected his hand and eye, resulting in an easier, looser, sketchier style, and, incidentally, in a style farther and farther away from Simone.

I propose therefore to assign the tighter, more laborious, more purely linear works to his earlier years, the sketchiest to the moment after his miniatures, and to his later years those in which

the artist seems to be looking back wistfully, as all middle-aged and aging men will, to the beginning of his career. Luckily we know that the date of the miniatures is round about 1345, and we know that the signed triptych in Rome was painted in 1358.

We are now prepared to arrange the paintings that can be attributed to Lippo Vanni in a chronological series. Without such a series, capable of a logical ordering, no number of pictures forms an intelligible group, let alone an artistic personality. And without the determination of such personalities there can be no humanistic study of the arts, as distinct from anthropology or psychophysiological aesthetics, on the one hand, and, on the other, antiquarian and collector's gossip, or *atelier* theorizing.

The earliest group, no further away from Simone than the paintings of Simone's collaborator, Lippo Memmi, we have already examined. The more these are studied, the greater will appear their indebtedness to the last phase of the greater artist.

But where shall we put yet another Lippo Vanni in the Lehman Collection? It is a triptych (Fig. 48) with Our Lady in the middle panel, with St. Dominic in the right and St. Elizabeth of Hungary in the left wing. The Child blesses a youthful couple kneeling at His feet.

This sumptuous work is so serene, so staid, so monumental as to recall Duccio or phases of that clearly marked artistic personality which has been named "Ugolino Lorenzetti." For which reason when I first saw this triptych some ten years ago, I failed to recognize the master. Once more we owe the attribution to De Nicola.

Is it earlier than the more purely Simonesque group? There is much that tempts one to take up the suggestion made a little while ago, namely that our painter had his primary education in

the following of Meo. Yet I hesitate for a number of vague reasons, the same that lead me to retain a faint doubt about the attribution. The little Duseigneur picture in the Louvre, representing St. Nicolas throwing the three gold balls into the room of the poor man with the three daughters,\* although of larger handling and richer coloring than the previous pictures, is not only Simon-esque in general, but in particular recalls the frescoes in the chapel of St. Martin at Assisi, and a small panel in the Jarves Collection at New Haven, U.S.A., representing St. Martin and the Beggar, which I suspect of having formed part of the *predella* to an altarpiece in that chapel. Yet there is a certain something suggestive of the Lorenzetti too, and that helps decide me to group this work with the miniatures.

Just after completing these, where the artist's style had been rendered fluid, sketchy, brilliant even, by the practice of illuminating, Lippo Vanni must have painted the triptych in the Walters Collection,† than which there is nothing in medieval art less inhibited, less labored, less dull. Its affinities with the miniatures are manifold, extending to a likeness in such types as, for instance, the noble heads in the Descent of the Holy Spirit (Fig. 36).

Then comes a Nativity in Berlin (No. 1094, Fig. 49) quite as dazzling in color but no longer so fluid, so sketchy as the last which we may think of as having been painted when the artist was swinging back to his normal orbit, after having been unduly deflected by the practice of illumination. The next is the Dormition of the Virgin at Altenburg (Fig. 38), which was examined in connection with the miniatures. Follows the frescoed polypptych in the chapel of the Archiepiscopal Seminary at Siena (Ven-

\* Reproduced in *Rassegna d'Arte*, May-June, 1919, p. 97.

† Reproduced in *Rassegna d'Arte* for 1917, p. 98, and in Berenson's *Essays in the Study of Sienese Paintings*, figure 16.



turi, *Storia*, V, 744; Van Marle, II, Fig. 300; photo. Anderson, 21,731) which De Nicola quite rightly ascribed to Lippo Vanni. Here Lippo comes so close to the Lorenzetti that I used to regard this fresco as by Pietro himself.

Nearer to the signed triptych of 1358 stands a smallish picture (Fig. 50), which belongs to Col. Michael Friedsam of New York. It represents Our Lady between Peter and Paul and two garlanded angels. Behind the throne appears a hanging, and under the feet of the apostles a carpet, and these have a peculiarity which they share with all the paintings that we can safely ascribe to Lippo Vanni. It is this: the design on any dress, or hanging, or piece of furniture painted by him avoids on the one hand continuity of any kind, and on the other comprehensive, structural decoration in a closed composition. It shows a surface ornament made up of insignificant elements, repeated indefinitely, and this must have been deliberate, for we know that in his illuminations the artist could extract the utmost beauty from the growth and push and droop of the tendril and all its offshoots.

The Perugia Madonna\* is blonder and of larger treatment than the last. The artist oscillates in his course, seldom pursuing an absolutely straight line, and besides, he is subject to attraction. In this case not unlikely Florence was the magnet, and traces of it may perhaps be again discerned in the small scenes of the triptych of 1358. Very Simonesque is a Madonna with two angels at Le Mans, identified by Mr. F. Mason Perkins as Lippo Vanni's (*Rassegna d'Arte*, 1914, p. 104, photo. Buloz, Paris, 17,706). It is of less plastic quality than the last, flatter, with the Child harking back curiously to the type of the one in the Lehman Madonna (Fig. 46).

\* Reproduced in *Rassegna d'Arte* for 1917, p. 100, and in Berenson's *Essays in the Study of Sienese Painting*, Fig. 17, photo. Alinari Pte. 2, No. 5645.

We have now reached the triptych at S. Domenico and Sisto in Rome, signed and dated 1358. As was said early in this article, it is this work which made it possible to begin to study Lippo Vanni in earnest. It has been described and reproduced several times.\* In the middle panel it is more careless than free. The male heads are Simonesque but more brachycephalic than his. The female types recall the Lorenzetti. The patterns on all textiles are of the petty kind we noted in Colonel Friedsam's picture. The wings are finer and more interesting than the middle panel. They contain four scenes from the Martyrdom of St. Auria. Looking at them one wonders whether they are not directly descended from such typical designs as those setting forth the martyrdom of St. Euphemia, which existed at Chalcedon before the end of the fourth century. The description that Asterius, Bishop of Amasia, gives of the one would not misrepresent the other,† certainly not in spirit. In spacing and in the relatively hard modeling of the single figures they recall the most Siennese of the Florentines, Bernardo Daddi. The landscape, with cliffs strongly projecting, the clear sky, the trees, anticipate Sassetta.

The other paintings that can at present be assigned to Lippo are of no peculiar interest, although exception must be made for the panoramic fresco in the Sala del Mappamondo in the town hall of Siena, representing the Battle of the Val di Chiana. The date 1372 is known, and if the attribution to Lippo Vanni is correct (and I am disposed to agree with De Nicola that it is), it shows the painter as skilled in representing mass and movement and able to deal successfully with a difficult problem. The overshadowing figure of St. Paul harks back to Simone Martini.

\* *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1910, opposite p. 39; *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1917, opposite p. 98; Berenson, *op. cit.*, Fig. 18; Van Marle, II, Figs. 298-299. Photo. del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione c. 2758-2759.

† Strzygowski, *Orient oder Rom*, p. 119.

At this point we can leave the author of the miniatures and paintings we have been examining. If others appear, as they certainly will, it should not be hard to fit them into the scheme of development here presented.

Sieneſe painting ſtill demands ſtudy. Thus far we have, as I have ſaid, a fair acquaintance with Duccio, Simone, and the Lorenzetti only. The others remain vague concepts. Even Lippo Memmi does not begin to be a real perſonality, and among the artiſts of the ſecond half of the Trecento, we enjoy but glimpses of Barna and Andrea Vanni. When we do know more it will almoſt certainly appear that there was a cloſe connection between Lippo Vanni and Barna on the one hand, and on the other between Barna and Andrea Vanni.

[February, 1924.]







FIG. 28

LIPPO VANNI: KING DAVID

BERRY ANTIPHONARY, FOGG MUSEUM, CAMBRIDGE



FIG. 29

LIPPO VANNI: RESURRECTION  
CATHEDRAL LIBRARY, SIENA





FIG. 30

LIPPO VANNI: ORNAMENTAL TENDRIL  
BERRY ANTIPHONARY, FOGG MUSEUM, CAMBRIDGE



FIG. 31

LIPPO VANNI: ADORATION OF THE MAGI  
BERRY ANTIPHONARY, FOGG MUSEUM,  
CAMBRIDGE





FIG. 32

NICCOLÒ DI SER SOZZO TAGLIACCI: ADORATION OF MAGI  
COLLEGIATA, SAN GIMIGNANO



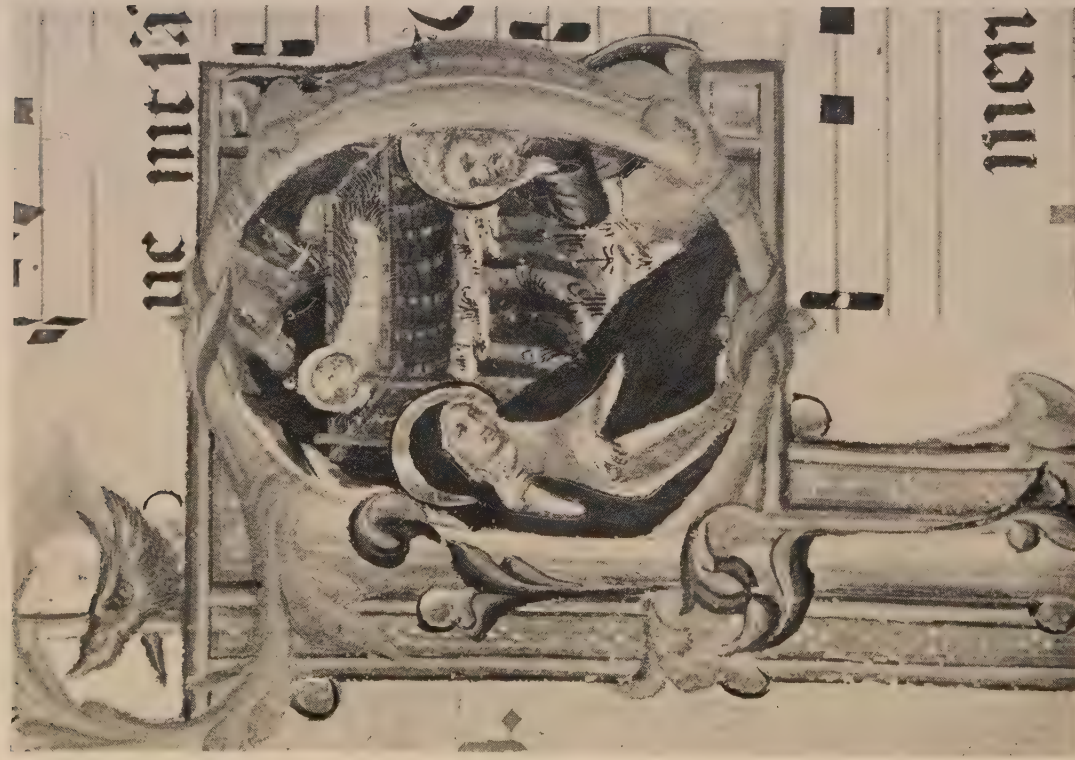


FIG. 33

LIPPO VANNI: NATIVITY  
BERRY ANTIPHONARY, FOGG MUSEUM,  
CAMBRIDGE



FIG. 34

LIPPO VANNI: CHRIST RESURRECTED  
BERRY ANTIPHONARY, FOGG MUSEUM,  
CAMBRIDGE





FIG. 35

LIPPO VANNI: ASCENSION OF CHRIST  
BERRY ANTIPHONARY, FOGG MUSEUM,  
CAMBRIDGE



FIG. 36

LIPPO VANNI: DESCENT OF THE HOLY  
SPIRIT  
BERRY ANTIPHONARY, FOGG MUSEUM,  
CAMBRIDGE



FIG. 37

NICCOLÒ DI SER SOZZO TAGLIACCI: DESCENT OF THE  
HOLY SPIRIT

COLLEGIATA, SAN GIMIGNANO





FIG. 38

LIPPO VANNI: DORMITION OF VIRGIN  
MUSEUM, ALTENBURG





FIG. 39

LIPPO VANNI: ASSUMPTION OF VIRGIN  
BERRY ANTIPHONARY, FOGG MUSEUM,  
CAMBRIDGE

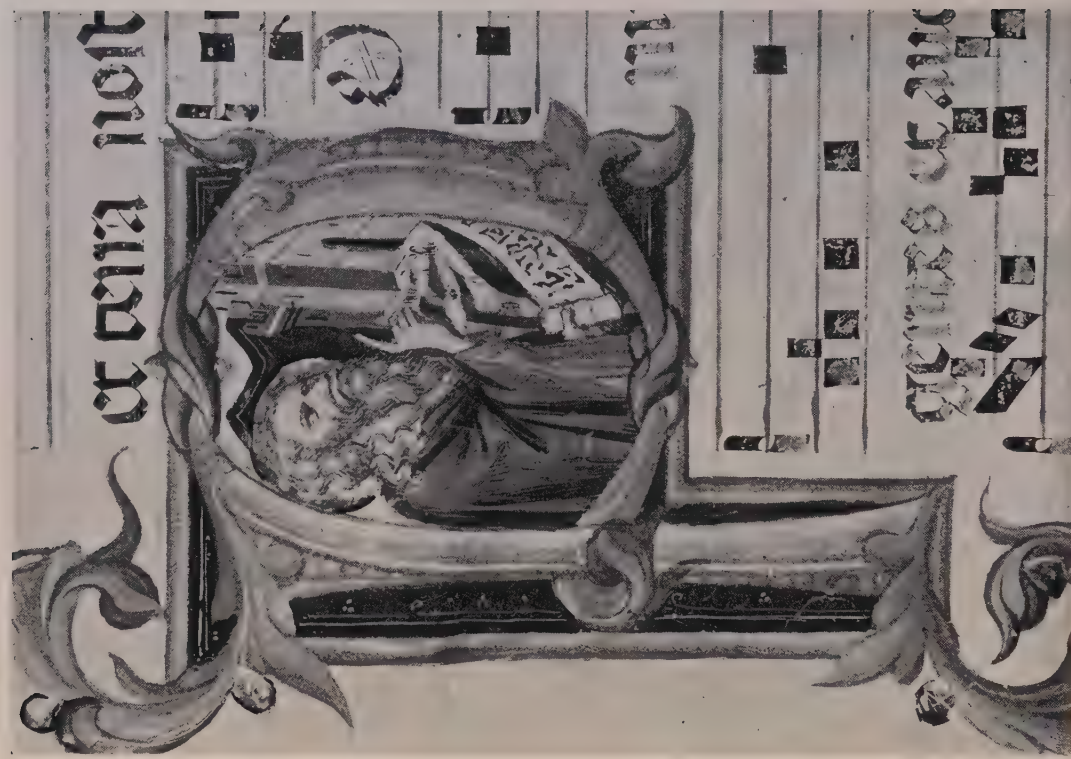


FIG. 40

LIPPO VANNI: THE PROPHET ISAIAH  
BERRY ANTIPHONARY, FOGG MUSEUM,  
CAMBRIDGE





FIG. 41

LIPPO VANNI: THE SAVIOR  
BERRY ANTIPHONARY, FOGG MUSEUM,  
CAMBRIDGE



FIG. 42

LIPPO VANNI: THE YOUNG DAVID  
BERRY ANTIPHONARY, FOGG MUSEUM,  
CAMBRIDGE



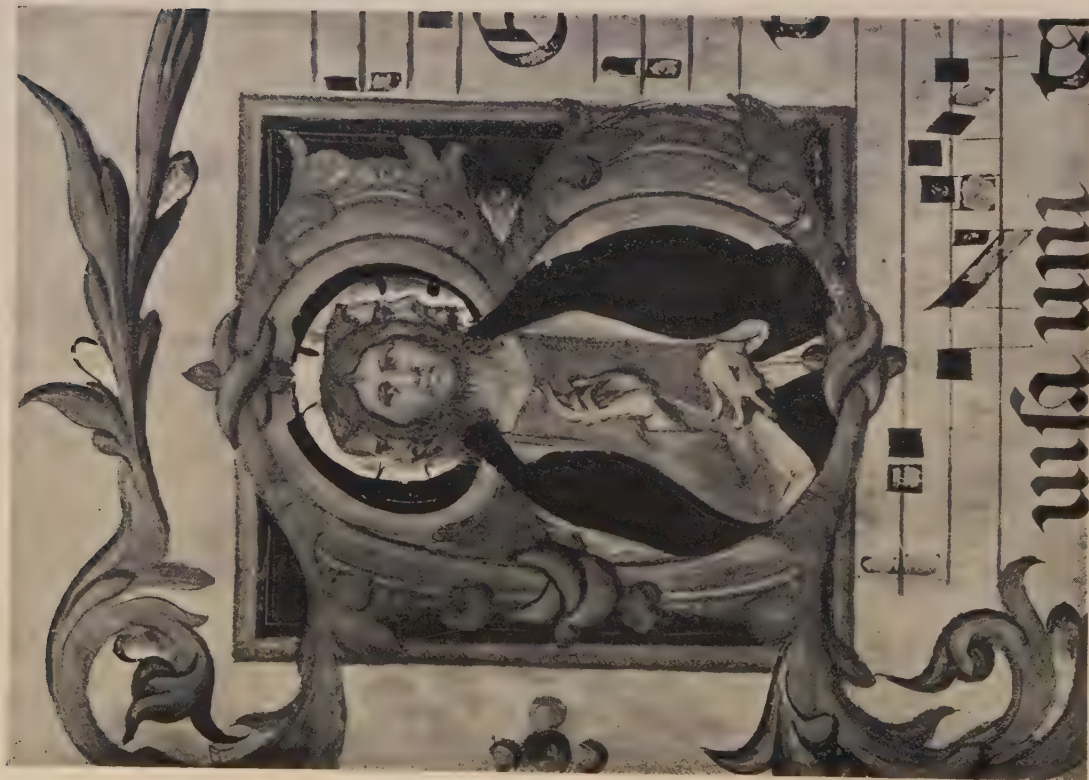


FIG. 43

LIPPO VANNI: THE TRINITY  
BERRY ANTIPHONY, FOGG MUSEUM,  
CAMBRIDGE



FIG. 44

LIPPO VANNI: ST. MICHAEL  
BERRY ANTIPHONY, FOGG MUSEUM,  
CAMBRIDGE



FIG. 45

LIPPO VANNI: MADONNA  
 BERRY ANTIPHONARY, FOGG MUSEUM,  
 CAMBRIDGE





FIG. 46

LIPPO VANNI: MADONNA AND CHILD  
PHILIP LEHMAN COLLECTION, NEW YORK



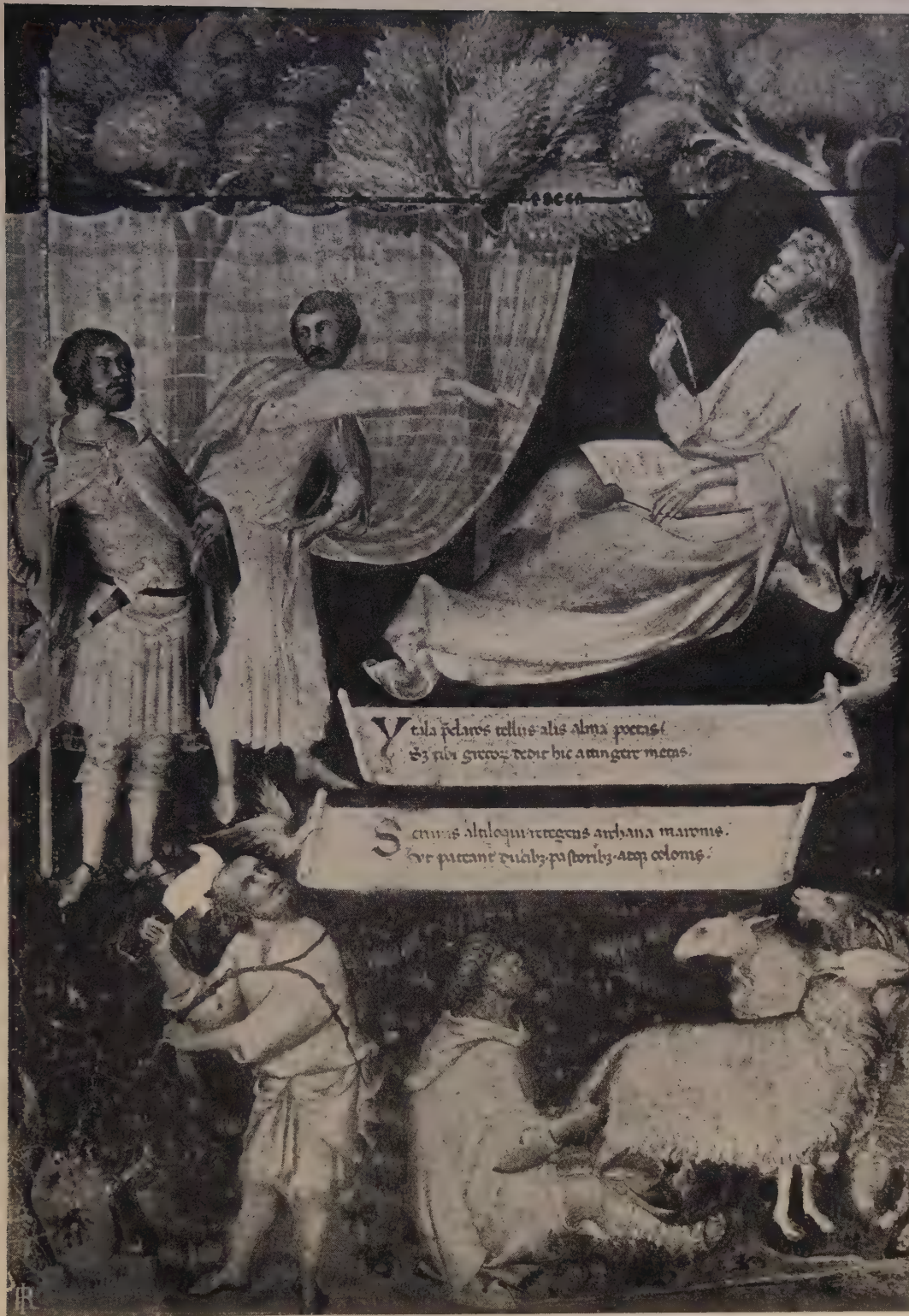


FIG. 47

SIMONE MARTINI: FRONTISPIECE TO THE AMBROSIANA  
VIRGIL  
MILAN



FIG. 48

LIPPO VANNI: TRIPTYCH

PHILIP LEHMAN COLLECTION, NEW YORK





FIG. 49

LIPPO VANNI: NATIVITY  
K. F. MUSEUM, BERLIN



FIG. 50

LIPPO VANNI: MADONNA AND SAINTS  
MICHAEL FRIEDSAM COLLECTION,  
NEW YORK





## EARLY PAINTINGS BY ALEGRETTO NUZI

WHEN Mr. Carl Hamilton of New York showed me the photograph of a triptych in his collection, dated 1354, and ascribed to Alegretto Nuzi, I was alarmed. The connection between the triptych and the painter was obvious, but it seemed far too obvious. The picture was, in fact, a version of the triptych at Macerata, signed by Nuzi and dated 1369. Autograph repetitions of such elaborate works are rare, and if they were made, it was, as a rule, immediately, and not, as in this case, after a lapse of years.

But when I was able to see the original, the merest glance sufficed to dispel all doubts as to its being a genuine Trecento work. It was, however, so much more free in line, so much more robust in modeling, while at the same time so much more golden in tone and subtle in gradations than the Alegretto we all know, that I was puzzled. Our Alegretto, delightful as we had always found him, was apt to be stiff in line, flat in modeling, and in tone more silvery than golden. He tended to produce pictures that were gorgeous silhouettes, or even decalcomanias, rather than paintings in the more serious sense, and, in his panel pictures at least, was inclined to make his patterned textiles more interesting than the figures they clothed.

Returning to Italy, I hastened to Fabriano, and the puzzle began to unravel itself. An altarpiece there, dated 1353, representing St. Anthony Abbot in the midst of kneeling worshipers, had all the characteristics and qualities of Mr. Hamilton's triptych. Both were by the same painter and in the same phase of his activity, and if Alegretto did one, he did the other.

Clearly it will be easier to solve the problem if we find more works of the same character and thus increase the variety of ele-

ments upon which eventually a judgment must be framed. And fortunately two other panels of this kind are known. Both are in the collection of Mr. Philip Lehman of New York. In one we have a Madonna with two angels, doubtless part of a triptych; and in the other a Nativity, a section of a *predella* for some altarpiece.

Let us look at these four works a little more closely, beginning with the most important, the Hamilton triptych (Fig. 51 and 52). The Virgin sits neither full front, nor yet at any definite angle sideways: she seems rather to be settling into position, as if instinctively feeling for the most comfortable pose for herself as well as for her Child. Worthy of remark is the absence of any visible seat. One is struck, too, by the gorgeousness of the stuffs both as pattern and as color, and by the unusual beauty and splendor of the tone.

In all this there is nothing to lead one to suspect a painter not Florentine. Everything recalls Bernardo Daddi in his later phase, where he begins to lead up to the Orcagnas. The types, the action, the silhouette, even the plastic curls of hair and the pointed diadems, suggest such masterpieces of Bernardo's as the great ancona in the Florentine Academy, the altarpiece at Ruballa, and the Madonna in the marble shrine at Orsammichele. A Daddesque triptych (Fig. 53) in the Corsini Gallery at Florence is so curiously like the Hamilton altarpiece, not only in every general way, but even to the hands and the pointed crown of St. Catherine, as to bear further witness to the very close connection.

The Lehman Madonna (Fig. 54) is but a variant on the figure of the Blessed Virgin in the Hamilton triptych (Fig. 52). The painter was perhaps paid less, so Our Lady's mantle is less magnificently bordered and the Child's wrappings less resplendent. The character remains close to Daddi, particularly in the angels.

The Nativity (Fig. 55) in the same collection is in reproduc-



tion not so obviously by the same hand as the last two works, but is scarcely less so to one who knows the original, with its color and technique so patently the same. Even in the reproduction, however, the children and the folds of the draperies can be seen to be nearly identical. And again, as in the larger design, the character is as close to Daddi as anything not by that artist himself. Indeed, the composition is a simplified version of some such design by Bernardo as the one in a triptych which a few years ago was in the hands of the Munich dealer, Julius Böhler.\*

Before proceeding to discuss the St. Anthony at Fabriano, I want to stop and ask, to how many of us it would occur to ascribe the three paintings just examined, to an artist not purely Florentine? To my knowledge both the Lehman pictures have remained unquestioned as Florentine, and I suspect that the Hamilton triptych was attributed to Alegretto Nuzi only because it was so obviously a replica of the well-known work by that master at Macerata. The St. Anthony Abbot in the right wing, however, might in any case put us on the track, for the flat treatment of the head, and the eye all but full in the profile, are distinctly un-Florentine; and our suspicions might well be confirmed by the fact that the young saint in the other wing is, in his halo, labeled "Venanzio." Now Venanzio was a favorite saint in the Marches, but scarcely known in Tuscany.

We can now turn to the fourth work of this identical character, the one at Fabriano (Fig. 56). If it were as well preserved as the other four, it would be by far the most beautiful and the most interesting. It represents, as we have seen, St. Anthony Abbot with male and female worshipers at his feet. These are as individualized and as attractive as any portraits that the Trecento has left us. The color is most unusual. For one thing, the chain mail

\* Sirén, *Giotto and Some of His Followers*, plate 146.

is done with silver which time has corroded into exquisite grays: and the robes of the women, yellow, blue, and red, are as distinguished as they are splendid. The design as well, with the central figure framed in by the prism-like cliffs and decorative trees leaning inward, wins our admiration.

That this altarpiece is by the same hand that painted the Hamilton triptych and the Lehman panels is clear. We find the same technique, the same coloring, the same quality of outline, which, within its own limits, is sinuous, supple, and functional; we find the same system of folds, the same shapes of hand and ear, and, allowing for the attempt at individualized portraiture, the same types. Even the reproductions should permit the student to control these statements. The swaddled Child is obviously the same in all. So are the folds in the Fabriano St. Anthony and those in the dexter wing of the Hamilton triptych, the prism-like rocks and the trees in the Fabriano picture and those in the Lehman Nativity.

These four panels must have been painted in close succession, or they would not be so identical in character and quality. Fortunately the two most important of them are dated, the one at Fabriano, 1353, the one in the Hamilton Collection, 1354.

So far so good. To pursue our inquiry, the fact that, of the two more important of these works, one is still at Fabriano, while the other has a saint for whom the Picene populations had a special devotion, and that the picture as a whole served as model for a triptych painted for the Marches fifteen years later, makes it more than probable that Mr. Hamilton's triptych, too, was torn away from some altar in the same part of Italy. We can go further and conclude that the author, although so thoroughly Florentinized, was a native of this region, who returned there to pursue his career.

Is it, however, sure that we can identify him with the one master of the Marches at this time who merits universal attention, I mean Alegretto Nuzi?

Sure, certainly not, but most probable, for the evidence, although not absolutely conclusive, points that way. Unfortunately we have hitherto known no dated works by Alegretto except such as belong to the last decade of his life. These are the triptych of 1365 in the Vatican (Fig. 57), the polyptych from Apiro of 1366 (Fig. 58), the replica of the Hamilton triptych at Macerata, dated 1369, and the Fornari Madonna of 1372 now in the Urbino Gallery (Fig. 59). In all these works, as in the earlier series which I am attempting to attach to him, we can see or descry the follower of Daddi, who, after long absence from Florence, and considerable success in his out-of-the-way corner of Italy, became provincialized. In his case, as always, provincialism tends, first and foremost, to discard tactile values. He gets more silhouetted, more and more flattened out, as if his figures had been pressed between smooth, even stones, and he grows more and more merely ornamental, declining almost to the level of a painter of attractive wall papers.

And yet, even in these enchanting decalcomanias, we do not cease to feel the former pupil of the Florentines, among whom, it happens to be known, he was enrolled in 1346. Nor is there anything in these dated pictures which might not have overtaken the painter of our triptych after ten years of progressive provincialization. We even find that the inner shape of the ear tends to be the same. It is an aesthetically trivial but archaeologically important little fact; and another is that the pattern of three engaged circles that we find under the feet of Anthony and of Venantius in the Hamilton triptych and on the floor of the contemporary Lehman Madonna, persists in the dress of the Blessed Virgin in the last



dated picture of his known to us, the Fornari Madonna of 1372, now at Urbino.

Happily we can to some extent bridge the ten or more years that elapsed between the Hamilton group of paintings and the earliest of Nuzi's dated works, and it will appear that the earlier these are, the more frequent their points of contact with our group.

It was my good luck to identify many years ago two rather remarkable paintings as Nuzi's, a small triptych at Detroit (Fig. 60), and a Coronation of the Virgin in the Cook Collection at Richmond, Surrey (Fig. 61).

At that time the little triptych was the earliest work that could be assigned to him. It must antedate by several years the Vatican panels of 1365 (Fig. 57), for it is more precise, more plastic, and closer to Daddi, as well as to the other painters surrounding that master in his last years, such as the whole Orcagna-Maso-Giottino group.

There are still more than a few points of contact between this little panel and the four under discussion. To begin with, the Nativity at Detroit is singularly like the one in the Lehman Collection, with the Blessed Virgin kneeling and fondling the Child in his crib. It is a rather rare treatment of the subject, by the way, and as far as I can recall, goes back to Daddi. Then, the angels have the same plastic locks of hair and the same diadems as in the Hamilton triptych, while the landscape has prism-like shapes as in the St. Anthony at Fabriano (Fig. 56).\*

\* Before leaving the Detroit triptych, I wish to point out that the gold hatching on the Virgin's dress is a Byzantinism which lasted on later in Emilia, the Romagna, and the Marches than in Florence. It probably indicates that at this time Alegretto fell under the influence of Baronzio, who made marvelous use of this device. This can be seen in a fascinating Madonna by him in the collection of Mr. Otto Kahn. In the Vatican work of 1365 Alegretto already abuses this device, anticipating the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Byzantinizers of Venice and Apulia.

The Cook Coronation is of about the same date as the last. It is very close to Daddi in such a composition from his studio as the Coronation with many Saints in the Florence Academy (No. 3449). The pointed crown of the Madonna is like the one that St. Catherine wears in Mr. Hamilton's picture, and the angels at her feet are surely of the same type, the same action, and the same draping as those in the Lehman Madonna.

To these considerations must be added the fact that the Anthony Abbot in the Hamilton triptych is found with scarcely a change twice again in Nuzi's undisputed works, namely, in the Macerata triptych (Fig. 62) and in a panel at Fabriano, where he is coupled with the Evangelist.\* Surely the identity of such a stock figure across the years should witness to the identity of authorship in the paintings where it occurs.

I have left it to the last to discuss the relation between the Hamilton triptych and its replica at Macerata† (Fig. 62).

A closer inspection of the two works reveals more differences than appear at first sight. They appertain to iconographical detail (and that not interesting to our purpose), and to style. The whole effect is of a more flattened, more silhouetted, and stiffer art. Dwell on the sinuously clinging draperies of Our Lady in the Hamilton painting and, with that rhythmic impression in your mind, turn to the Madonna at Macerata. She sits there not as if clothed with clinging textiles, but as if imprisoned in cardboard. And note how sharp are all the edges and how lifeless the hands.

\* Reproduced along with most of Nuzi's paintings in Colasanti's *Gentile da Fabriano* (Bergamo, 1909). Also in Van Marle's *Italian Schools of Painting*, V, Fig. 98.

† There is, by the way, a distinct resemblance in type and technique between this work and Bartolo di Fredi in his best phase. It is probably not at all the result of contact between the two artists, but of their declining, despite their initial gifts, to an equal degree of provincialism.

Compare, for instance, those of the knight in each work—how little grip he has at Macerata, and how firmly he grasps in the prototype.

And yet among the few paintings hitherto accepted as Nuzi's—all, as we have seen, from the last ten or twelve years of his career—the Macerata altarpiece stands out as the most defined, the most studied, and the best draped. The artist must have been paid to do his best, and urged to prove himself worthy of his model of fifteen years earlier. He nearly succeeded.

Now is it likely that a painter of the reputation Nuzi must have enjoyed in 1369 would have been asked, or would have consented to use such a model unless it had been his own creation? Common sense would answer in the negative.

And what might confirm this conclusion is the possibility that the same patron ordered both works. The fact that the saints are all but the same points that way. In both inscriptions he is a "Fra Giovanni,"\* and if the same Fra Giovanni, it would be quite natural that, rising in the world, he should wish to employ again the artist, also risen in the world, who had served him so well when they both were fifteen years younger.

It is thus more than probable that the four pictures which have been the subject of this article, namely the Hamilton triptych, the Lehman Madonna, the Lehman Nativity, and the Fabriano St. Anthony, all painted in 1353 or 1354, are by the same Alegretto Nuzi whom hitherto we have known only during the end of his career. I venture to believe that further connecting

\* The exact reading under the Hamilton picture seems to be the following: MCCCLIIII QVESTA TAVOLA HA FATTO FARE FRATE GIOVANNI DE . . . Unfortunately there is no more.

Under the Macerata picture the inscription is: ISTAM TABELAM FECIT FIERI FRATER IOANNES CLERICVS PRECEPTOR TOLENTINI ANNO DNI MCCCLXVIII.



links between the two groups will be discovered that will join them up more closely than is now possible.

Assuming that both groups are by Alegretto Nuzi, we get a far more remarkable and important artist than has hitherto appeared. We are led to speculate what would have become of him had he remained in Florence,\* rubbing up against the greatest painters Christendom then had. He would scarcely have turned out less than his probable fellow pupil, Nardo di Cione, whom his early phase so vividly recalls. Instead, he retired to his native fastnesses to fail and fade as the first in a village.

To me, apart from his intrinsic charm, Alegretto's chief interest lies in his furnishing such a striking example of the effect of provincialism upon even the most gifted artists. Invariably they begin to neglect first tactile values, then movement, and finally technique, thus anticipating in their own persons all the phases of decline that overtake art in ages growing barbarous.

[Vallombrosa, August, 1921.]

In the eight years gone by since the above pages were written, I have devoted myself more than at any time previously to the study of the Trecento painters of Central Italy. I expected to have a good deal to change when revising this essay. I

\* Some time ago, in a most informing article on art in the Marches, Lionello Venturi drew attention to a fresco of the Crucifixion in S. Biagio in Caprile at Campodonico, near Fabriano, which seems to be dated 1345. It is unfortunately in a sad state of dilapidation, but enough remains to show that the composition is most dramatic, poetical, and original. The Eternal, in the midst of angels, extends His arms over the scene. Each personage stands on a separate jagged rock.

Should it turn out that this work, too, was by Alegretto, it would not only prolong his known career by ten years, but would make it altogether more remarkable. Conscious of gifts that made him perfectly able to cope with the best of the Florentine artists, his settling down in Florence becomes a very natural thing. We remember that in 1346 he enrolled himself among their number.

am—may I say it?—almost disappointed to come, after a retrial of the case, to the same decision as before, namely that the painter of the Hamilton triptych was also the painter of the Macerata version of the same work dated so many years later and signed by Alegretto Nuzi. More experience and meditation have only made me more sure-footed, and where eight years ago I stumbled, I now walk boldly. I feel less hesitation now than then in giving the Hamilton masterpiece and the other works that go with it to the young Alegretto Nuzi.

As our researches into the significance of medieval art are still preoccupied with gathering the materials, and are still at the stage where the segregation of the single works from incoherent groups and their aggregation into coherent ones are the chief tasks, fellow students will perhaps welcome the further additions I would propose to the early phase of Nuzi's career.

In the first place, I would confess that I was too timid when in the course of the article I spoke more than once of the Corsini triptych (Fig. 53) as being close only to the Hamilton one. It is more than close, and I can no longer see why it is not by the same hand. It must have been painted still earlier, and more under the impression of the stumpy figures of Daddi's last years, so manifest in his polyptych of 1348 in the Parry Collection at Gloucester (Sirén, *op. cit.*, Pl. 164).

Farther on the way to the later Nuzi, with his flatter modeling, more simplified outlines, and more ornamental surfaces, is a pointed panel which appeared at a dealer's in Berlin several years ago (Fig. 63). It represents the Marriage of St. Catherine, and the Child as well as the faces of both the Virgin and the saint could almost come out of the group kneeling at the feet of St. Anthony in the Fabriano panel.\*

\* This Marriage of St. Catherine has almost certainly gone to America;

The identical Child occurs in a small triptych at Dijon (No. 28)\* (Fig. 64), but the rest of the design is closer to the Hamilton picture than is the St. Catherine. The side panels representing a Crucifixion, a Nativity and, above them, the Annunciation, are even closer to Daddi than the other early Nuzis. But the Madonna herself is closer to the Virgin and to other female figures in the Hamilton triptych. The action of the young mother's hand in the Nativity is a charming variant on a theme dear to Nuzi as well as to Daddi. It will escape nobody's attention that this Nativity is in every way extraordinarily close to the somewhat later one in the Lehman Collection which is discussed in the article.

In Berlin (No. 1,059) there is part of a *predella* representing the Mourning over Christ (Fig. 65). Although as Daddesque at least as any of the panels that I have grouped around the Hamilton picture, it is not attributed to Daddi but to Giovanni da Milano. But surely it is not by that more advanced, more accomplished artist. It is too near to the young Nuzi, and in particular to his Lehman Nativity, to be by any other hand than his.

And from this fragment we cannot separate its companion acquired recently by the Copenhagen Gallery. It represents the Mother of Our Lord fainting on His sealed tomb (Fig. 66). The subject must be rare if, with all allowance for a poor memory, I cannot easily recall another example in Trecento Italian painting. Yet the painter treats it as if the theme had been exploited by the best minds of the time. Medieval art has not often hit upon anything so satisfactory as this silhouette. And is it fanciful to sup-

would the present owner give me his name and address? The picture could then be included in my forthcoming "Lists of Authentic Italian Pictures."

\* I am pleased to discover that this was already listed as Alegretto Nuzi in my *Central Italian Painters* of 1909. I draw particular attention to this, as, when making the attribution, well before the date mentioned, I had no thesis to sustain, such as might have led me to be too inclusive.



pose that it took a designer with Nuzi's ingrained tendencies to oversimplification to get such a pattern? The earliest slackening of a severe schooling, the first free play with painfully acquired forms is apt to produce Cellinis and Parmigianinos in every period and phase of art.

Two other works are known which should be included with Nuzi's more Daddesque phase. One at Cleveland, Ohio, the property of Mr. William G. Mather, is a triptych, unfortunately repainted, in which the Madonna and Child are of the type of the Lehman Madonna, while the Peter and Paul, the Baptist and Anthony are like the saints in the Corsini triptych.

The second is again in bad condition. It is another Marriage of St. Catherine (Louvre, 1664, photo. Giraudon 27,236 "Gerini") so inferior to the one presented earlier in this postscript that it may be only a studio picture although of this earlier period of Nuzi's activity. It is just possible that the execution was Giovanni del Biondo's. If he learned his craft as Nuzi's assistant it would account for the many striking likenesses between them.

Now a word about the frescoes at S. Biagio in Caprile at Campodonico mentioned in the note to the last paragraph of this essay. These frescoes are all that I said in the note, but they are far too vehement—too "revivalistic" shall I say?—to be of the Trecento. They are, as I now see clearly, by that extraordinary genius of the Abruzzo, Andrea da Litio, and must have been painted toward 1470. The date 1345, if not touched up, must refer to something else.

[March, 1929.]



FIG. 51

ALEGRETTO NUZI: TRIPTYCH DATED 1354  
FORMERLY IN CARL HAMILTON COLLECTION, NEW YORK





FIG. 52

ALEGRETTO NUZI: CENTRAL PANEL FROM  
HAMILTON TRIPTYCH





FIG. 53

ALEGRETTO NUZI: TRIPTYCH  
CORSINI GALLERY, FLORENCE



FIG. 54

ALEGRETTO NUZI: MADONNA AND ANGELS  
PHILIP LEHMAN COLLECTION, NEW YORK



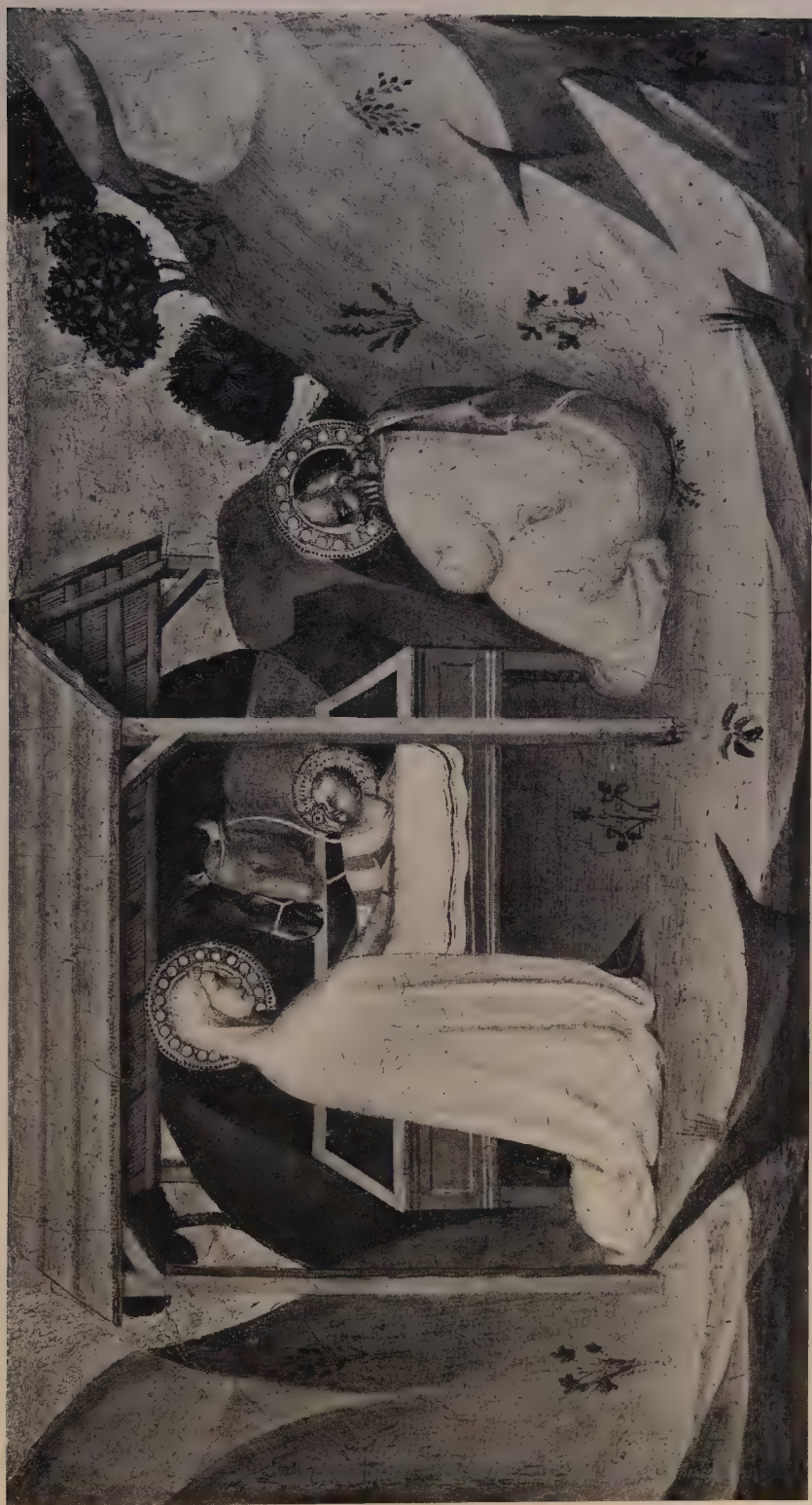


FIG. 55

ALEGRETTO NUZI: NATIVITY

PHILIP LEHMAN COLLECTION, NEW YORK





FIG. 56

ALEGRETTO NUZI: ST. ANTHONY ABBOT  
PINACOTECA, FABRIANO

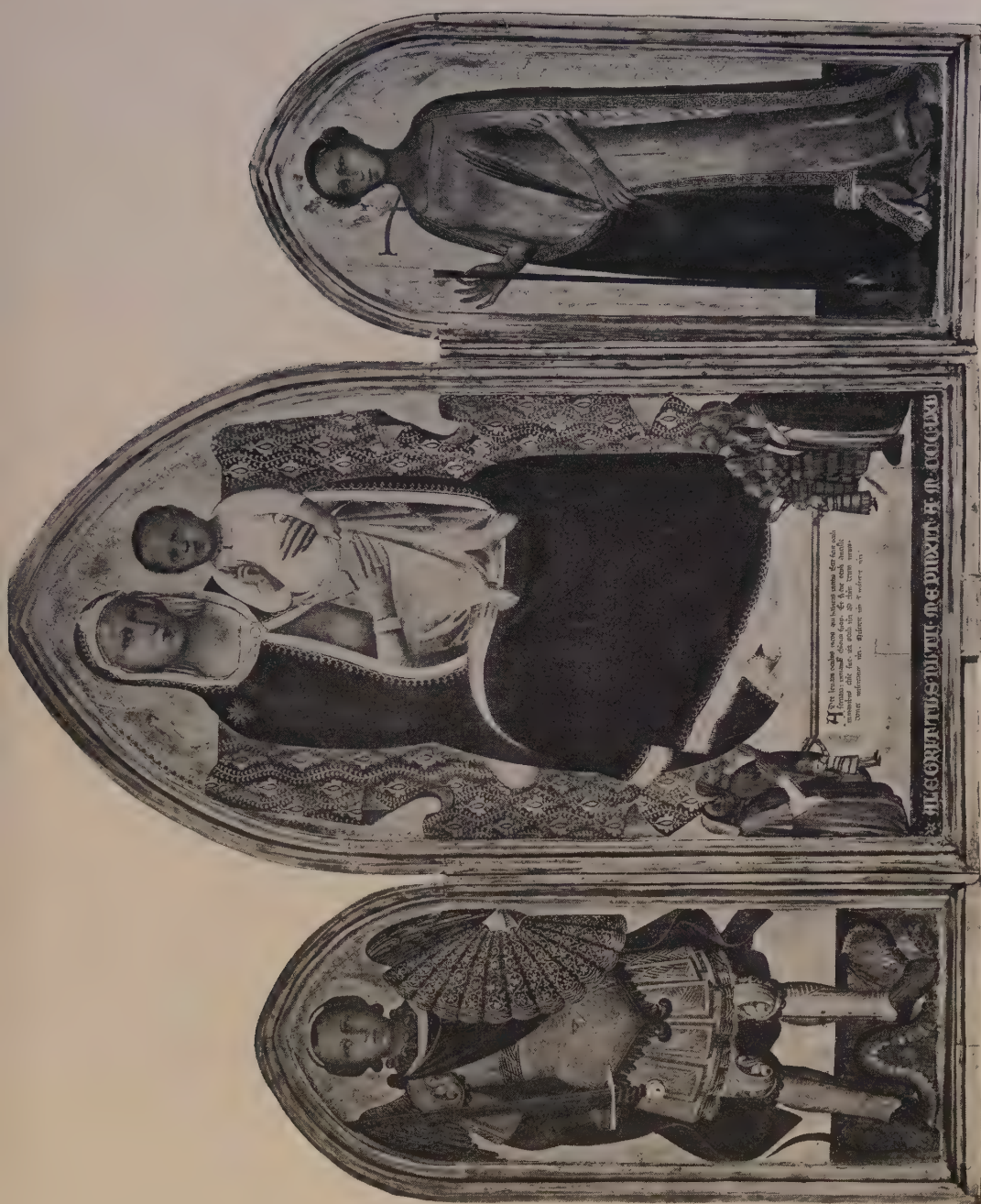


FIG. 57

ALEGRETTO NUZI: TRIPTYCH DATED 1365  
PINACOTECA VATICANA, ROME





FIG. 58  
ALEGRETO NUZI: POLYPTYCH  
MUNICIPIO, APIRO





FIG. 59

ALEGRETTO NUZI: THE "FORNARI" MADONNA  
DATED 1372

DUICAL PALACE, URBINO



FIG. 60

ALEGRETTO NUZI: PORTABLE ALTAR  
INSTITUTE OF ARTS, DETROIT





FIG. 61

ALEGRETTO NUZI: CORONATION OF  
VIRGIN

COOK COLLECTION, RICHMOND, SURREY





FIG. 62

ALEGRETTO NUZI: TRIPTYCH DATED 1369  
PINACOTECA, MACERATA



FIG. 63

ALEGRETTO NUZI: MARRIAGE OF  
ST. CATHERINE

FORMERLY ON SALE IN BERLIN





FIG. 64

ALEGRETTO NUZI: PORTABLE ALTAR  
MUSEUM, DIJON



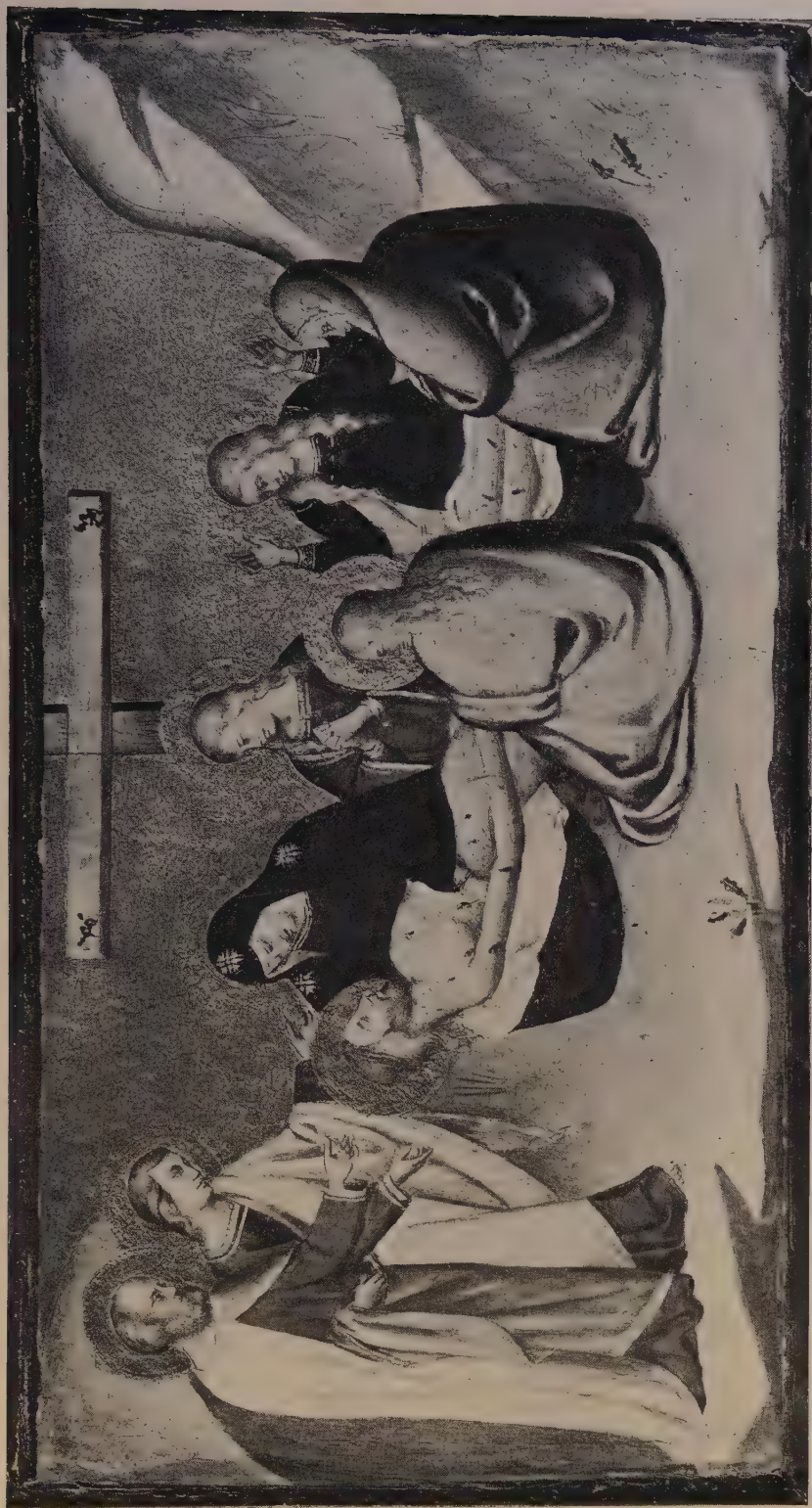


FIG. 65  
ALEGHRETTO NUZI: PIETÀ  
K. F. MUSEUM, BERLIN



FIG. 66

ALFREGETTO NUZI: VIRGIN FAINTING ON TOMB OF CHRIST  
NATIONAL MUSEUM, COPENHAGEN



## A PANEL BY ROBERTO ODERISI

**M**R. Grenville L. Winthrop of New York has recently acquired a small picture measuring about 50 by 35 cm., in which is represented what is vaguely called the "*Pietà*" (Fig. 67). The composition, however, comprises the entire story of the Passion, and is elaborated in a way that is a joy to any student of Christian iconography. It is at the same time a picture of more than ordinary artistic merit, and as it happens besides to be no mere repetition of the almost too well known Florentine or Sienese way of treating the subject, but something that stands quite by itself, I invite the reader to follow me: first in a brief consideration of the subject, its treatment and its artistic value, and then into the question of its authorship.

The subject begins at the top with the Sacred Face, itself an object of worship in the Middle Ages, having its central shrine, for Latin Christendom at least, at Lucca with its *Volto Santo*, to which pilgrims were drawn from every part of the western world. Then come the sun and the moon, which, be it noted, play a part in crucifixions only. Yet here, directly below, on the left, appear in the first place two open hands, one in the pose of giving and the other of receiving. This is a reminder rather than a representation of the scene between the High Priest and Judas. Next to this comes an abbreviated but adequate representation of the Betrayal, followed, instead of preceded, as the order of events requires, by the Agony in the Garden. Finally, a pitcher pouring water over a pair of hands commemorates Pilate's act.

The sun and the moon occur only in crucifixions, and to the same subject belongs the pelican feeding its young with its own flesh and blood as we find it here in the course below, an allegory



which takes its consecrated place on top of the Holy Rood over the short bar with the incriminating letters INRI. Instead of proceeding with the crucifixion, we turn back once more to symbols, references, and yet another representation of moments preceding the Consummation. Thus, under the reference to Pilate occurs the scene between Peter and the servant while the cock crows. The rest of that course and the one below are filled with reminders of the mocking, hands making signs of contempt, a youth blowing a horn, a citizen spitting: and then the instruments of the Passion, the ladder, the lance, the lantern, the torch, the sponge, the rod, the rope, the scourge, and the nails, arranged, as we shall see later, not as the events but as symmetry dictated. Between the ladder and the lantern, we discover the ear of Malchus that, during the betrayal, St. Peter cut off with a sword.

Between the youth with a horn and the jeering citizen appears not the suffering and patient head of Jesus in the pretorium, nor that of the Agony on the Cross, but the one of the Savior, serene and sublime in death, erect in his tomb between the grief-stricken figures of His Mother and His Beloved Disciple.

Finally, in front of the sarcophagus, we see the sleeping guard, the seamless robe, and the dice that were thrown for its possession, the nails, the pincers, the hammer, and the ointment box—so many references to the Descent from the Cross.

The composition that seemed to begin as a Crucifixion ends by avoiding the Agony on the Cross almost as carefully as the early Christians did, and the Cross itself scarcely appears, for the figure of Our Lord nearly hides the vertical beam, while the horizontal bar might seem to serve some decorative end, as, for instance, to connect the column and the ladder.

We shall soon see that merely artistic intentions played a part in the weaving of the pattern. As an illustration, however, it

was inspired by the late medieval craving for complicated allegory, the hanker for the rebus and the delight in pious double meanings. Here is our Redeemer in His tomb between His Mother and the Beloved Disciple, appealing to our pity, not to our fear as did the composition whose place it took when Christianity grew more sentimental and tender, the *Deësis*—Christ as Judge between His Mother and the supplicating Baptist. Look farther. It is at the same time a Crucifixion, having a twofold intention such as we find in the masterpiece of Pacher at Munich, where the Evangelists are also the Church Fathers. Then there are the references to and the symbols of the Passion. It is probable that even the medieval spectator was dimly aware, as he contemplated this picture, of three stages of realization. In the *Pietà* it is complete; in the Crucifixion, shadow-like and allegorical; and in the rest, pictographic and mnemonic. Only the medieval person is more likely to have worshiped than to have contemplated this work, treating it perhaps as a fetish, just as the humbler folk in Catholic countries still treat the images in their churches.

The painter had to furnish the painted illustration, the fetish if you will, that was ordered of him, but he submitted the materials to the guiding principles of his art. Look at the arrangement. The elements are placed, as we have seen, regardless at times of chronological order, in a way to adjust and balance their masses into the most agreeable rhythms. The framework furnished by the powerful horizontals of the sarcophagus and crossbeam and the verticals of the column and the ladder produces a convincing sense of fact and contributes no little to the greater realization of the three figures constituting the *Pietà* that are thus enframed.

And the realization is carried through not merely in these principal figures but even in the pictographic and mnemonic parts. Take, as instances of the first, the dialogue between Peter

and the servant maid, or the exquisite scene of the pelican feeding its young. It would be hard, within the formula, to improve upon these groups either as action or as modeling or as color. And even when the record becomes merely mnemonic, as are the hands of Judas with the High Priest and of Pilate, or as the mocking mob, or the Instruments of the Passion—all these are as beautifully painted as in any masterpiece of the period.\*

A word now about the color: it is not the ivory tone shading off to chalky white or golden yellow of the late Florentine Trecentisti, or turning to brass, as among their Sienese contemporaries, but ruddy, russet, almost purple. The pigment, moreover, is enamel-like in the way it is put on, and you need not fear that it will fade before your eyes.

The work of no mean artist! Who was he?

He was no other than the author of the *Incoronata* frescoes at Naples.

Sadly neglected, and even more sadly patched and made over, difficult to see on the vaulting of a dark organ loft, these paintings, nevertheless, are among the most memorable ever produced by the medieval mind. Seldom has its spirit found completer utterance. Here are represented the Church Triumphant and the Seven Sacraments, and from them breathes the happiest confidence in God's forgiveness, mercy, and loving-kindness. Childlike they are, perhaps childish, but endlessly comforting, fortifying, gladdening.†

\* This is in many ways closer to an Egyptian stela of the Early Empire than to any other form of art. There, too, you have, along with ordinary representations, pictographic abbreviations and mnemonic signs drawn and modeled to perfection, and, as here, arranged with an eye to symmetry and harmony rather than to legibility, although they are only what we know as hieroglyphs. Naturally, the resemblance would be more striking still if these stelae had preserved their original coloring.

† They are reproduced along with other frescoes by the same hand on the



These frescoes have been ascribed to Simone Martini by some, and to Giotto by others, or to close followers of either one or the other. As a matter of fact their painter has so completely assimilated the style of both, that a hasty critic, struck by the resemblances to Giotto, would easily be blinded to the likenesses to Simone, and *vice versa*.

The artist must at any rate have been a Neapolitan, for, except at Assisi, which need scarcely be considered in this connection, it was at Naples only that he could have come so equally under the influence of the two great Tuscans. And besides, he is heartier, jollier, and, if I may venture to say so, more pagan than a central Italian could be. His name can be ascertained for it comes on a large panel of exactly the same style, representing the Crucifixion (Fig. 68), which is to be seen in the Church of San Francesco at Eboli.\* It was Roberto Oderisi.

The resemblances between Mr. Winthrop's panel, on the one hand, and the Naples frescoes and the Eboli Crucifixion, on the other, are so striking, whether you take composition, or types, or details, or spirit, that even in reproductions one cannot fail to perceive them. As instances I may cite the likeness of the Sacred Face in the first to the Head of Christ in the fresco representing the Triumph of the Church; of the impertinent serving-maid to the man on our extreme left in the Sacrament of Baptism; or of the Blessed Virgin to the woman seen at the head of the dying

walls of the same chapel, in Rolfs' *Geschichte der malerei Neapels*, Plates 17-26, and in Venturi's *Storia*, V, Figs. 521-528 as well as in Van Marle's *Italian Schools of Painting*, V, Figs. 205-209.

\* All but accepted by Cavalcasselle, it was affirmed in a short article I published in the *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* for 1900, pp. 448-450, where the signed Crucifixion is reproduced. Rolfs, who also reproduces the same picture, accepts the attribution of the Incoronata frescoes to Oderisi as a matter of course. Indeed, I cannot conceive how the identity of hand can be questioned by any student who has carefully studied the Eboli panel in the original. How many have?

man in the Sacrament of Extreme Unction. The pelicans are identical in our panel and in the Eboli Crucifixion, as are (to minutest details, often so revealing) the lettering above the crosses and the stamped ornament on the halos of Our Lord.

If Mr. Winthrop's *Pietà* is by Oderisi, as I am sure it is, it expands our acquaintance with the artist. It does not merely repeat the already known, as all but the greatest Sienese masters of the fourteenth and, still more, of the fifteenth centuries, so tediously tended to do. It helps to link together the Incoronata frescoes and the Eboli Crucifixion, and finally it betrays an influence in the education of the master which the works hitherto known did not lead us to suspect, namely of the Cavallini frescoes at Santa Maria Donna Regina. The clearest traces of this influence are the sleeping guard and the St. Peter.

Rolfs makes it seem likely that the Incoronata frescoes were painted about 1360, and our small panel, with its reminders of Cavallini that have disappeared from the other works, must be of slightly earlier date, while the Eboli Crucifixion, somewhat stale and facile, is probably considerably later.

Oderisi was still active in 1382 (Rolfs, p. 62, note). It is not likely that seventy-four years earlier he enjoyed personal contact with Cavallini, or even that, sixty-five years earlier, he was old enough to be apprenticed to Simone. On the other hand, Giotto was in Naples but fifty years previously and easily could have been the master of Oderisi. But Oderisi's works do not exactly lead to such a conclusion. If their author had been a personal follower of the great Florentine, he surely would have been completely dominated by him, and his paintings would not betray so much of Simone's influence, nor hark back to Cavallini. Internal evidence would seem rather to suggest that Oderisi must have learned his rudiments from a follower of the Roman artist, and

then formed his own style in the assiduous study of the works left behind at Naples by both Simone and Giotto. For then, no doubt as always, the accessible works of recent great masters were the real school for artists.

Mr. Winthrop's *Pietà* has enabled us to enlarge our idea of Oderisi, and we now can say that he was the nearest approach to a great master that Naples saw before the seventeenth century. There is also a piece of evidence that his fame reached to a fair distance beyond his own home. It is in the shape of a fresco in the romantic church of the Holy Trinity near Venosa—and Venosa in the time-space of the fourteenth century was quite adventurously remote.

This fresco (Fig. 69), as the reproduction will show, portrays, above a rather summary treatment of the *Pietà*, a beautiful great lady, some such a one as the young Boccaccio worshiped at the Court of Naples. Here she is represented as St. Catherine, in all the noble elegance and queenly magnificence of the Age of Chivalry. She reminds us of Ambrogio Lorenzetti's gracious ladies in his famous Allegory in the town hall of Siena, although nothing is more unlikely than that the two painters met, or even knew of each other's existence. But through the art of both the same sap was flowing.

It is plain to those who have well in mind the Incoronata frescoes, including the Finding of Moses, as well as the Eboli Crucifixion and Mr. Winthrop's panel, that this St. Catherine is also by the hand of Roberto Oderisi.

[September, 1922.]







FIG. 67

ROBERTO ODERISI: PIETÀ

COLLECTION OF MR. GRENVILLE L. WINTHROP  
NEW YORK





FIG. 68

ROBERTO ODERISI: CRUCIFIXION

S. FRANCESCO, EBOLI





FIG. 69

ROBERTO ODERISI:  
ST. CATHERINE  
SANTA TRINITA, VENOSA



NOTES ON TUSCAN PAINTERS OF THE TRE-  
CENTO IN THE STAEDEL INSTITUT  
AT FRANKFURT

THE Staedel Institut at Frankfurt possesses a number of works by minor masters of the Tuscan Trecento. Although several have already been published, a systematic account of all of them will scarcely come amiss. It will serve for reference, or help to make them a subject of discourse.

The earliest are two panels (Fig. 70) dated 1333 that must have served as *predella* to the front or back of some altarpiece. Curt Weigelt correctly ascribed them to Meo of Siena.\*

In one of the panels Our Lord sits enthroned under a trefle arch between the twelve disciples each of whom stands under a similar arch. In the other Our Lady also sits enthroned with angels in attendance, and the donor, a monk, at her feet. To right and left stand twelve saints, each under a trefle arch. Peter returns, but here as pope, and the other pope is probably Gregory. It is easy to identify Paul and the Baptist, Stephen, and probably Lawrence. The others remain for me anonymous. In the spandrels between the arches busts of angels appear in the *predella* with Our Lord, and busts of prophets and sibyls in the one of Our Lady. Except David, strumming on a kind of harp, the others are busy unfurling, or reading, or expounding, scrolls. As in so many medieval works of art, these scrolls are inscribed, not with legible letters in Hebrew, Greek, or Latin, but with an ornamental script imitated possibly from the Cufic.

\* See *Alcuni dipinti di Meo da Siena non ancora riconosciuti. Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, V, 101-105. The date and inscription on the step of the Virgin's throne, *ibid.*, p. 103. Sizes 59.5 by 3.04, and 60 by 3.017. The Inventory numbers are 1,201 and 1,202.



The physiognomy of the figures is amiably imbecile. The bodies are ill proportioned and undersized. The action and gestures remind one of marionettes fashioned by a plowman in rare moments of leisure. The Christ Child is distinguished by a pose as affected and silly as in most of the southern Indian bronzes that are now being imposed upon our patience. Yet it cannot in justice be said that the spiritual significance of these sacred beings is much below the average of medieval Italian art, the masterpieces of the ten or twelve creators being, of course, exceptions.

If the begetter of these paper dolls is not distinguished by depth of feeling or intellect, neither does he retrieve himself by any merits as a painter. His technique is embarrassed, his modeling blurred, his coloring hot.

And yet I enjoy these decalcomanias! They appeal to something invincibly puerile in my nature. And one may confess to liking them, and will only be admired for it, whereas we should be laughed at, to say the least, if we admitted caring for dolls, toys, or children's tales not a whit more babyish.

I not only enjoy them, but I am shameless enough to display an interest in their painter, and his relation to the rest of Italian art: I know it is an infantile pursuit, demanding the least possible expenditure of intellect or scholarship, and exercising little but memory and the ability to recognize stereotyped shapes. For it may be stated as an axiom that the obscurer the artist, the more mannered he will be, and the more mannered he is, the easier to recognize, no matter whom he is copying or imitating. Even a tyro in connoisseurship can scarcely miss flattering results in such a pursuit, particularly as the first steps do at times bear a vague resemblance to a real effort.

But here this initial effort has, in fact, already been made. Curt Weigelt, in ascribing these two *predelle* at Frankfurt, as well as the triptych in the Cathedral of Perugia, to the painter who signs MEO DA SIENA in a polyptych in the gallery of the same town, gives us three points in this minimal artist's career, which enable us to reconstruct his tiny personality.

Meo, who seems to have worked in or near Perugia from some time before 1319 to the date of his death, between 1333 and 1334, shows in his signed work that he must have learned his trade under Duccio of Siena, or under one of that master's followers. That signed work already exhales a certain provincial torpor, as if its painter had been away for some time from the refining and sustaining criticism of an art center. Not only that, but worse. The crude modeling and the hot coloring betray the influence of his Bolognese contemporaries.\* The cathedral triptych at Perugia, the Madonna first attributed to him by Irene Vavasour-Elder (Perugia Gallery, No. 10, *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, V, 66), and the Madonna with the Baptist and three other saints, all in half length, in the same collection, show him drawing closer to the Sienese, as if he had revisited his native town. But in the Frankfurt *predella* which, as it is dated 1333, must have been one of his last achievements, he drops back to quaintness and rusticity.†

\* Perhaps the faces too, which would account for the attribution made by Weigelt to Meo of a Madonna embracing the Child, with small heads of saints in the frame, at S. Maria Maggiore, Florence, which is Bolognese. (Photo. Alinari, 20,425.)

† Unimportant though Meo was, he yet inspired not only the painter of the Presentation and Adoration of the Perugia Gallery (Nos. 76 and 81), the author of the fragments of frescoes in the same collection, representing the Story of the Passion (photo. Anderson, 15,585-15,586), but of the painter of the cycle of subjects in distant Subiaco, which recount the Joys and Sorrows of Our Lady (photo. Alinari, 26,220-26,233, 26,252-26,259).

Before dismissing him, I wish to say that I doubt whether he was greatly inferior to the ruck of Duccio's followers. There is always an abyss between the genius and the imitators. Those who stayed on at Siena had the advantage of their master's presence and the stimulus of their more gifted fellow pupils. Segna, in long exile, or even Ugolino, would perhaps have ended no better than Meo.

The painting next in date at the Staedel Gallery is a small panel (Fig. 71)\* representing the Madonna with Peter, Paul, the Baptist, three other saints, as well as angels, and two donors, and is by Jacopo del Casentino. Prof. Richard Offner has been at the pains of reconstructing the little figure of this artist with pious industry† and no little acumen. Nobody should question Professor Offner's easy mastery of his subject, and in any dispute over what is and what is not to be ascribed to Jacopo del Casentino I would follow Professor Offner blindfold. Thus I am entirely with him against Dr. Van Marle, who, in his encyclopedic work on the *Italian Schools of Painting* (III, 654), questions the attribution of our small picture to Jacopo himself, and would assign it to yet another painter "one who shows a close connection to Jacopo del Casentino with whom however he cannot be identified."

I am afraid I have no higher opinion of Jacopo del Casentino than I have of Meo da Siena. Indeed, both seem tarred with the same brush, namely Bolognese smudginess of contour, and hotness of color. Did Jacopo acquire them in his earliest years from some itinerant dauber who had wound his way over the moun-

\* Inv. No. 842, H. 51 cm. W. 29 cm.

† "Jacopo del Casentino: Integrazione della sua Opera," *Bollettino d'Arte del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione*, Dec., 1923.



tains from the city of sausages and sages to the valley spreading under La Verna? Or did he derive it from Meo? Certain ornamental patterns in haloes and elsewhere common to both would make the latter notion, if dates permit, the more likely. At Florence he came under superior influences, under the influence particularly of the ablest of Giotto's disciples whose name has come down, the closest Tuscan follower moreover of the pure French style known as Gothic, I mean Bernardo Daddi. Daddi was endowed with an almost Raphaelesque facility as well as felicity, not unusual at a moment when a formula has become conscious of all its intentions and mistress of all its means. In Giotto's absence he must easily have been the prince among painters at Florence. The younger natives, like the Orcagnas, were his pupils, and strangers must have flocked to his studio. No wonder that rustic Jacopo attached himself to his train.

Hundreds of small triptychs were evidently turned out of Bernardo's workshop, gemlike in color, exquisite in line, refined in feeling, redolent of chivalry. These wandered far, were sold in quantities at the fairs of Champagne, and became carriers of Tuscan art to the entire North.

Jacopo tried to do these also, and had a certain vogue, for among the paintings restored to him by Professor Offner, the majority still are, or originally were, such triptychs, and several exist unnoticed even by him. Yet smudgy, sooty, hot Jacopo was not the artist for this kind of daintiness.

The mention of Bologna in connection with both Meo da Siena and Jacopo del Casentino reminds me that although Frankfurt boasts no specimen of its Trecento painting—it is quite well

off without!—it owns a Madonna by Barnaba of the neighboring town of Modena,\* signed and dated 1367 (Fig. 72).

It is true that this essay is concerned with Tuscan artists only, and Barnaba was anything but a Tuscan. His chief interest is that he remains so late into the fourteenth century imperturbably Byzantine. His frame-maker has taken up with Gothic fashions; but not he, and least of all in his technique, which might be of a painter working at the same moment in the Cyclades or Sporades.

His range is limited, but he is a good honest workman with far more sense of craft than a Meo or a Jacopo del Casentino. He reminds me of Sano di Pietro of Siena, of whom he is a Trecento and rather better version. Yet the three painters I have mentioned are constantly praised, studied, and commented. Sano is in full enjoyment of a cult, particularly among Anglo-Saxon maiden ladies, which psychoanalysts might profitably explore. Barnaba remains unappreciated. Perhaps the reason is simply that instead of there being a sweet-shop full of him in a paradise of delights like Siena, praised, sung, apostrophized, anatomized, catalogued, etc., by most of the tourists of the last thirty years, Barnaba is scarcely represented in Modena, and Modena is a straggling village of cold brick barracks where there is a great deal to see, but little to cheer and nothing to charm.

Moreover—besides the initial error of not belonging to a major or even minor hill town of Tuscany or Umbria—Barnaba committed the sin of signing and dating most of his pictures. For this there can be no forgiveness from the students of art history. A painter who not only signs but dates is a *guastamestiere* who leaves nothing for the art critic to do except criticize. He is handed over to silence and oblivion.

\* Inv. No. 807. 1.14 m. by 76 cm. on wood.

Barnaba, by the way, owes nothing to the Sienese. Like Duccio himself, he inherits directly from the Byzantine succession. And this is equally true of most Italian painters out of Tuscany. Sienese influence may be more readily felt in France or Spain than in Liguria, Lombardy, Emilia, or Venetia.

For students who are not mere antiquarians and embellishers of the parish pump, for people to whom the occupation with the art of former ages is not a mere pastime, there is only one reason for giving serious attention to the minor and minimost artists of a school. It is to teach us to distinguish clearly between their work and that of their betters, and eventually to enable us to judge how bad a given work has to be before we refuse to credit it to a great master. Even without such passionately devoted and microscopic attention as has been directed for a generation upon the Sienese, it is possible now to find considerable agreement as to whether a picture comes from the mind, if not from the hand as well, of the more renowned Quattrocento or Cinquecento masters of Tuscany, Umbria, or Venice. It is far more difficult in the case of nearly all the Trecentisti and particularly so of the Sienese. Take the Lorenzetti for example. They have tremendous ups and downs, such as we see in Pietro's works at Assisi, which make it unsafe to declare that a given picture, even of poor quality but having their sense of the universe, or their formula for design, is necessarily inferior to their more careless moments. The problem is rendered more difficult still by the fact that they had followers who caught their spirit to perfection, and their calligraphy and technique surprisingly well. The result is that there is no other school of painting where it is so hard to make convincing attributions.



A case in point is afforded by two small polyptychs at Frankfurt.

One (Fig. 73) contains a Crucifixion for principal subject.\* Below it Our Lady sits in a garden, the *Hortus Conclusus*, and at her feet kneels a young deacon who offers to the Infant Jesus something in a bowl. It would seem as if this bowl contained stones, in which case the youthful deacon would be Stephen, and the stones the instruments of his martyrdom. Is it a bird, perhaps, whose head the Child is caressing? On our right we see, beginning below in good Byzantine and early Christian fashion and proceeding upward, John the Evangelist sitting as if on an iceberg, interrupted in his writing by an angel who offers him a jug. Above we behold the Ascension of the same saint. On our left we see, above, the calling of Matthew portrayed dramatically and composed in a way to suggest a monumental wall painting, and below, the same saint done to death at the altar by three armed men. In the spandrels are prophets and patriarchs. Above them appear twelve male and female saints. The Annunciation in half figures crowns the whole.

No autograph work by either of the Lorenzetti is more dramatic, more poignant, or more ardent, and the execution is scarcely more slovenly than they can sink to. Yet I would not venture to ascribe it to the one or the other of these gifted brothers. The author seems to have been a closer follower of Pietro than of Ambrogio, and of Pietro in his earlier, rather than later, years. Lest somebody say that he was the painter I named Ugolino Lorenzetti, I add that I have considered this possibility and discarded it.

The other little polyptych† is nearer to Ambrogio than the

\* Inv. No. 995. Central panel 99 by 25 cm. Side panels 96 by 24 cm. each.

† Inv. No. 1,005. H. 60 cm. W. 39 cm.

last to Pietro (Fig. 74). The principal subject here too is the Crucifixion and it is conceived in Ambrogio's broad and tragic spirit. In the strips to right and left are the Baptist, an elderly male saint with a shirt between his hands, and two female saints, Catherine probably, and perhaps Helen. Below is a wonderful scene worthy of a great Sung painter. Out of the darkness and the night loom figures that spell out Our Lady and Joseph worshiping the Infant Jesus under a shed, while the shepherds are led to them by shining hosts of angels in the sky, and across a stream an angel swoops down with an olive branch toward two shepherds lying on a hillside.

Ambrogio never painted anything more ecstatic both in joy and grief, more impressive, more convincing. We are reminded of the mysterious Allegory in the Siena Academy (No. 92) where, too, looming out of the mist, we descry forms that with difficulty we can interpret as the Expulsion from Paradise, the Crucified Savior, and Christ Triumphant. I used to ascribe this great masterpiece of Christian art to Pietro. I would not do so now, and yet I am not satisfied that it is Ambrogio. Our little panel is in the same case: very close to Ambrogio but not quite he. The date can be fixed more certainly than the exact attribution. The Baptist is like the one above Ambrogio's S. Procolo\* in the Bandini Gallery at Fiesole, and that seems to have been painted in 1332.

A younger contemporary of the Lorenzetti who did not escape their influence, although a loyal follower of Simone Martini, was Lippo Vanni. A little while ago he was a mere name. Thanks to the publication of a signed and dated triptych, show-

\* Reproduced in De Nicola's *Soggiorno Fiorentino di Ambrogio Lorenzetti*, Fig. 2. See *Bollettino d'Arte*, Aug., 1922.

ing him both as a painter and narrator,—I refer to the altarpiece now preserved, but very hard to get a sight of, in SS. Domenico and Sisto in Rome—he has come to his own, and has been receiving the attention of most students of Sienese art.

Less than a year ago I published a paper of some length about him, in which the interested reader will find references to previous writers as well as what I could myself add.\* I take pleasure in adding still another panel (Fig. 75) to the number already known† although it can scarcely be said to increase our interest in this master, who, like all his townsmen excepting Duccio and Simone, is so disconcertingly uneven. In fact, this Staedel Madonna enthroned with Peter, Paul, two other saints, and two angels is but a variant of a painting in Colonel Friedsam's Collection in New York that I reproduced in the article just referred to (Fig. 50).

The only genius that Siena had after Duccio, Simone, and the Lorenzetti was Barna. He died young, probably before he had had time to express himself completely. We are not sure that the death of Raphael was a loss to art. It could be argued that an equally early cessation of activity on the part of Michelangelo would not have been mourned by the Muse of Painting, even if the sister Muses felt otherwise. But that Barna did not attain to the full flower of his years is to be reckoned, perhaps with the early death of Giorgione, among the disasters that have beset Humanism.

Nor did he, like Giorgione, leave a follower who in great measure could continue his work. Neither Bartolo di Fredi nor

\* *Un Antiphonaire avec Miniatures par Lippo Vanni*, *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 1924, pp. 257–285. Reprinted in this volume.

† Inv. No. 1,470. H. 46.5 cm. W. 33.3 cm.



even Andrea Vanni were of a measure to succeed him. They merely exploited him, Bartolo, his narrative side alone, and Vanni his inspired sense of the spiritual, his prophetic zest, his ecstasy. Barna's panels are rare and still disputed. Frankfurt cannot boast of one, but has a specimen of Bartolo, and a fairly important triptych by Vanni.

The Bartolo (Fig. 76) is a head of the Virgin, a damaged but unrestored fragment dating from the best years of his career.\* It is slightly later but in other respects close to the early Madonna first published by Miss Vavasour-Elder in the *Rassegna d'Arte*, for 1908, p. 161.

Andrea Vanni† is more completely represented. The three full-length figures are of the size and kind to have adorned the pilasters of a polyptych. They are very characteristic of the master even to the depth of the moldings on the frames, and the pattern in relief on the spandrils. One represents St. Anne with the infant Mary in her arms, another St. Agnes, the third St. Ursula‡ (Fig. 77). Few female figures of the Gothic era anywhere are more charming with more distinction. Vanni is here in his loveliest and softest mood.

Vanni had a considerable number of followers, and to distinguish between them is a fascinating, absorbing, and enviable task for which I feel every disposition. The lack of leisure alone compels me most reluctantly to leave it to others. I hope to set up a claim to the gratitude of these by calling their attention to a

\* Inv. No. 1,006. H. 37 cm. W. 27 cm.

† Inv. Nos. 1,467-1,469. Each 45 cm. by 12 cm.

‡ The labeling of these two saints by a slightly later hand as Agnes and Orsina, leads me to ask whether the work of which these three bits formed a small part was not at home in Sardinia or possibly Corsica. It would be instructive and delightful to trace the rest. We still know Vanni in a ragged and tattered fashion, and such an increase of material would serve to complete the pattern.

typical work of this group, one of average merit, a triptych representing the usual subjects, namely the Blessed Virgin with saints in the center panel, saints in each side panel, and in the gable, the Annunciation flanking the Crucifixion (Fig. 78).<sup>\*</sup> Who was the author? Certainly not Fei, nor Cola di Petrucciolo, nor anybody else known to me. Specialists must decide.

By Fei there is in the Staedel Institut a half-life-size figure of St. Catherine<sup>†</sup> which ranks with his best (Fig. 79). This usually awkward, vulgar practitioner had, early in his career, moments of quaint daintiness, and later an occasional heartiness that is winning. It was his singular destiny to be the master of one of the most spiritually minded, and most delicate geniuses that even Siena ever had—I mean Sassetta<sup>‡</sup>—as well as of Siena's most whimsical and fascinatingly absurd artist, Giovanni di Paolo.

And yet Siena, at the turn of the century, had far more remarkable painters than Fei. It is doubtful whether even Florence was at that particular moment producing more stately work, inspired by a nobler feeling for space, and a more convincing sense of form, than we find traces of in the fragments of frescoes that we can still decipher in the sacristy chapel of the Siena Cathedral. They would seem to lead by a straight and broad road to the aspirations and ambitions of the Renaissance. It was not to be. They ended nowhere, and are so forgotten that even the encyclopedic and compendious Van Marle does not mention them.

Inferior to the painters of these frescoes, yet more vivid and in every way firmer and more convincing than any other of Van-

<sup>\*</sup> Inv. No. 996. H. 52 cm. W. 46 cm.

<sup>†</sup> Inv. No. 1,002. H. 65 cm. W. 38 cm.

<sup>‡</sup> By Sassetta himself, there is nothing in the Staedel Institut. Average specimens of his anonymous following are Nos. 1,003 and 1,004, representing St. Ursula's reception in England, and her martyrdom.

ni's immediate following was their contemporary Martino di Bartolommeo. When he returned from Pisa, where he left a number of paintings, he doubtless fell under their influence. But although it is hard to credit him with his highest achievements, when one knows how low he can sink—as indeed is the case with most of his townsmen excepting always Duccio and Simone—yet there can be no doubt that he painted the series of panels (Figs. 80–86) in the Staedel Institut illustrating, it would seem, the legend of St. Stephen.\*

We first see a woman lying in with the newborn babe lifted out of the cradle which the devil flies away with after replacing it with a demon in a child's shape (Fig. 80).

\* Inv. Nos. 988–994. Numbers 988 and 991 are 74 cm. H., the others 69. All 59 cm. W.

Van Marle is inclined to ascribe them to a north Italian who was acquainted with the art of Giovanni da Milano as well as of Altichiero (*Italian Schools of Painting*, IV, 259–263). This is mildly surprising on the part of the writer who has given the best account we now have of Martino di Bartolommeo (*op. cit.*, III, 582–592) as is his failure to recognize that the radiant Annunciation in the Collegiata of Asciano is by him and not as I too thought in my “days of ignorance” by Taddeo di Bartolo. Other works which I would ascribe to Bartolommeo are:

SIENA. Lunette over door in Via Bandini, a half-destroyed and damaged, but unrestored and monumental fresco representing the Madonna between Peter, Paul, the Baptist, and a female saint.

FLORENCE. *Bargello, Carrand Collection*. No. 9. Madonna suckling the Child, two angels, Antony, James, Catherine and another female saint; *Ecce Homo* above.

BAYONNE. *Musée Bonnat*. No. 4. Madonna with bust of Savior above.

PARIS. *Hotel Drouot*. Feb. 4, 1924. No. 20, triptych (38 by 22 cm.) ascribed to Taddeo di Bartolo. Madonna between Catherine, Lucy and two angels with *Ecce Homo* above. In the wings, the Annunciation, Stephen, the Baptist, Anthony Abbot and a saint with a staff.

BUDAPEST, 45. Triptych: Madonna with male and female saint, and above, the Savior blessing. In wings, Annunciation, James, and Anthony Abbot.

CAMBRIDGE. *Fitzwilliam Museum*. No. 553. The Annunciation.

LONDON. *Trade*. Madonna enthroned with four donors at her feet.

My estimate of Bartolommeo is based upon these works besides those accepted by Van Marle. Still more necessary to the study of this painter is the Madonna of 1408 (78 by 59 cm.) exhibited in Siena in 1904 (No. 7, Sala xxvii, p. 305



The babe left by the demon at the entrance to a palace is discovered by a bishop and his attendants as they come out of church, being suckled by a doe (Fig. 81).

At a sign made by a sainted deacon, to the amazement of the bystanders, the idols over the gates of a town break and fall (Fig. 82).

A deacon enters a house and discovers the devil child in the cradle. At once he has him taken to the courtyard and burned (Fig. 83).

A deacon ordained by a bishop (Fig. 84).

A deacon disputing with twelve elders and bystanders (Fig. 85).

The stoning of the deacon (Fig. 86).

The last two scenes refer to Stephen, as we know from any number of other pictures. The other five would seem to precede them and to form part of the same legend. Yet I have not succeeded in finding any reference to episodes corresponding with those in the published legends regarding the Protomartyr, although I have a haunting sense of having read something of the sort somewhere, in connection not with this saint but with some other Stephen.

of *Mostra dell'Antica Arte Sienese, Aprile-Agosto, 1904*. Siena, Lazzeri) a beautiful design in the tradition of Simone, Barna, and Vanni. It then belonged to Signora Agata Bonichi of Asciano.

Let the keen and aspiring young American or German who composes a monograph on this painter, surely not less worthy than Jacopo del Casentino, Meo da Siena, Nommisecca Fiesolano, Squaliduccio da Bettona, or what not, have these additions in mind. Let him further note that Van Marle does well to transfer various polyptychs in the Siena Gallery from Bartolommeo to Andrea di Bartolo, but that he ascribes to him a triptych there (No. 140) a Madonna between Andrew and Onuphrius which is really by Gualtieri di Giovanni. The four Saints which went to America some thirty years ago and were cleverly recognized by Van Marle (p. 388) in the poor photographs as Bartolommeo's, are in the Theodore Davis Legacy of the Metropolitan Museum, New York.

Perhaps a legend of which the hero was a local saint of the same name has got mixed up, or rather telescoped with the real history of the Stephen of the Acts.

In the woodland church attached to the monastery of S. Lucchese, standing high over the road that from Poggibonsi leads to Staggia, there was uncovered two or three decades ago a fresco of around 1400 which illustrated the same story as in our panel. Unfortunately only three of the episodes are preserved enough for the far from exorbitant claims of iconography, two only being photographed. Above is represented the birth of the saint. Below we see the devil babe cradled in the porch of a lordly dwelling while the infant saint is being carried out to sea in a ship manned by demons.\* At the bottom a bishop stepping out of his cathedral discovers a doe suckling a child (Fig. 87).

There are tantalizingly illegible and interrupted inscriptions in these frescoes. Under the second I, who am not a bit of an epigraphist and as little of an hagiologist, seem to descry and interpret the following: . . . *chulla pichol* . . . *blino Stefano santo portato fusti in paese ne*. . . . In the lower episode the doe utters the words: *Hic est Stephanus filius Dei*, and under it I read: *trovato chebbe el vescovo (t)roiano alla sua porta la cervia lactare Stephano santo die a governare*.

It is annoying to be baffled for so little. If we could know the initial syllable of the name of the bishop, we might be able to identify the place to which to attach this curious story. One thing is certain: whoever this bishop was, it was not St. Peter. The

\* In the St. Bartholomew polyptych, painted in 1401, by Lorenzo di Nicolò, for the neighboring S. Gimignano (photo. Brogi 15,287), in the birth scene, a black devil snatches the infant saint from the cradle. But this legend extended to Florence at least. In the frescoes at Prato Fra Filippo depicts the rape of the infant Stephen by the devil, and the bishop discovering the infant suckled by the doe. (Photo. Alinari.)



Prince of the Apostles, when not bareheaded, never wears an episcopal miter but a papal tiara.

As works of art, these seven Frankfurt panels rank with the best painting produced in Italy in that rather fallow moment, the first decade of the fifteenth century. I should be at a loss to name anything more dramatic as narrative, clearer and more rhythmic in grouping, more realized in space, better constructed, and of pleasanter color in Italian painting just before the maturity of Lorenzo Monaco and the first revelations of Fra Angelico, and Masolino. They remind us of Mariotto di Nardo's best, but how much better than that best!\*

A better known artist, and deservedly better known, Lorenzo Monaco, must have been in close touch with the group that painted the frescoes in the Chapel of the Virgin in the sacristy of the Siena Cathedral. His types, his action, and his carefully folded draperies show marked affinities with theirs. It is a pity that calligraphy twirled away with him, reducing him, as it did so many of the best artists in France, Spain, and Germany at the same time, to little better than dancing dervishes in paint. Curious that he should have been so utterly carried away by the last flurry of Gothic sweeping down from the Franco-Flemish workshops over the Cottian Alps. Florence did not quite recover from the consequences before the end of the Quattrocento.

Here at Frankfurt we see Lorenzo in his most heroic but not most agreeable mood (Fig. 88).† The painting representing the Savior seated in the heavens blessing with one hand and holding

\* It is interesting to note that we find here one of the first instances in Italian art where the idols destroyed are not medieval fancies but Greco-Roman statues seen in a surprisingly Renaissance way. In fact, it might be possible for an archaeologist to reconstruct them.

† Inv. No. 1,177. H. 87 cm. W. 34 cm. with frame.



the terrestrial globe surmounted by a cross in the other, was probably intended to crown one of those extensive polyptychs reminding us of Gothic façades, that were common in Florence particularly in the pre-Renaissance years of the Quattrocento. It is therefore painted broadly, almost crudely, and lacks the daintiness to which his more minute work has accustomed us.

Finally we have a Madonna enthroned with two kneeling angels (Fig. 89).<sup>\*</sup> It shows in the Madonna—her hand particularly—the influence of Rossello di Jacopo Franco, and in the angels that of Giovanni del Ponte, two belated but attractive Trecentists who “kept smiling” to the end. No wonder, for the Renaissance did not come like an Assyrian conqueror. On the contrary, even in Florence, most people were cheerfully unaware of it till well on to the middle of the fifteenth century, and ordered more and more elaborately gorgeous, refulgent, twirling, blinking creations of the sunset of Gothic design. But for the accident of death, it would have been Bicci di Lorenzo, and not Piero della Francesca who painted the Story of the True Cross at Arezzo.

[Settignano, January, 1925.]

*Note.* This article had gone to the press when I received from Mr. A. Hyatt Mayor, of Christ Church, Oxford, a copy of a text extracted from an eleventh-century codex at Monte Cassino, printed on p. 37, Vol. III of *Biblioteca Casinensis*, Monte Cassino, 1877. This text, entitled “*Fabulosa Vita di Stephani Protomartyris*” is unfortunately no better, as a text, than would have been an illustration to it, done by the worst of contemporary painters of “Exultets.” It is so confused that we learn nothing from it except that the name of the Bishop was Julianus, and that the legend was

<sup>\*</sup> Inv. No. 1,167. H. 1.22 cm. W. 55 cm.

already current in the eleventh century. It is curious, by the way, that it should have been illustrated in the heart of Tuscany alone.\*

As Heinrich Weizsacker points out in his *Catalogue* of the Staedel Institut (to which unfortunately I had no access previously, but which also mentions the Monte Cassino text) there is a trace of this legend in the *predella* to Andrea Vanni's polyptych at S. Stefano in Siena. The painter, Giovanni di Paolo, retains of the story only the episode of the doe suckling the infant, but this suffices to prove that the story remained current in Siena on into the fifteenth century, full two generations after the fresco at S. Lucchese.

Two days ago Number I-II of the *Rassegna d'Arte Senese* for 1924 brought me an article by F. Mason Perkins on Martino di Bartolommeo. It attributes to this painter several of the pictures I have here ascribed to him—a happy instance of students working separately and reaching the same result. The article reproduces the Annunciation at Asciano, as well as the Madonna of 1408, formerly in the Bonichi Collection of that town.

[February 4, 1925.]

\* But in November, 1929, I discovered in the Park Museum at Barcelona two of these episodes, namely Stephen snatched from the cradle, and the child suckled by the doe, in a polyptych from Granollers, ascribed to los Vergòs.





FIG. 70  
MEO DA SIENA: POLYPTYCH  
STAEDEL MUSEUM





FIG. 71

JACOPO DEL CASENTINO: MADONNA  
AND SAINTS

STAEDEL MUSEUM



FIG. 72

BARNABA DA MODENA: MADONNA  
STAEDEL MUSEUM





FIG. 73

FOLLOWER OF PIETRO LORENZETTI: POLYPTYCH  
STAEDEL MUSEUM





FIG. 74  
CLOSE TO AMBROGIO LORENZETTI:  
POLYPTYCH  
STAEDEL MUSEUM



FIG. 75  
LIPPO VANNI: MADONNA AND SAINTS  
STAEDEL MUSEUM



FIG. 76

BARTOLO DI FREDI: HEAD OF  
MADONNA

STÄEDEL MUSEUM





FIG. 77

ANDREA VANNI: THREE SAINTS  
STAEDEL MUSEUM



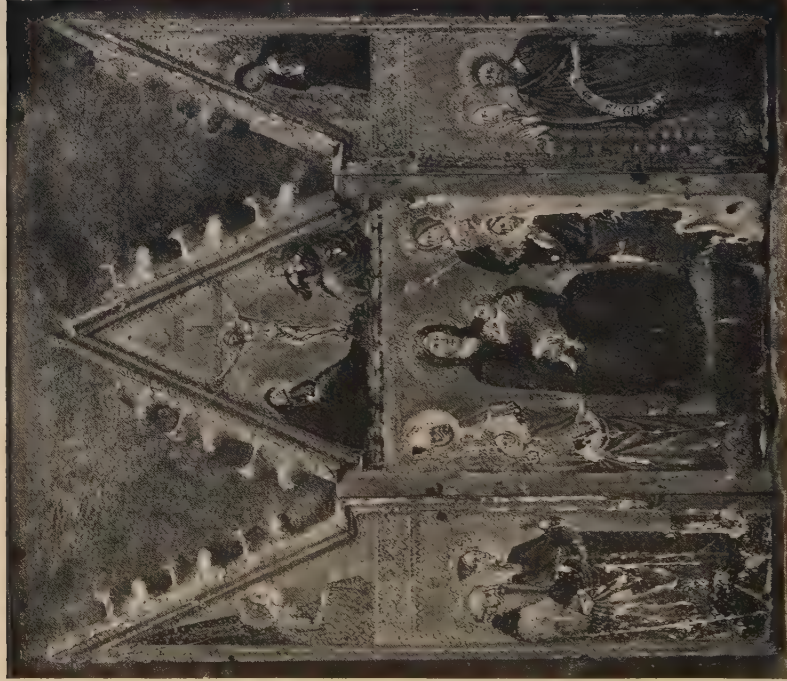


FIG. 78

SCHOOL OF ANDREA VANNI:  
PORTABLE ALTAR  
STAEDEL MUSEUM



FIG. 79

PAOLO DI GIOVANNI FEI:  
ST. CATHERINE  
STAEDEL MUSEUM

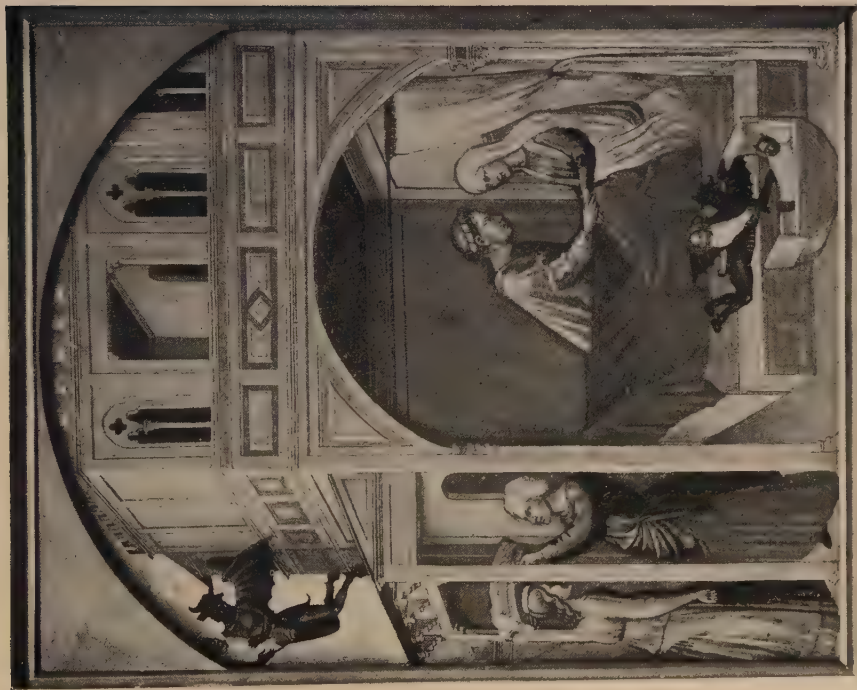


FIG. 80

MARTINO DI BARTOLOMMEO: THE  
INFANT ST. STEPHEN CARRIED  
OFF BY THE DEVIL

STAEDEL MUSEUM

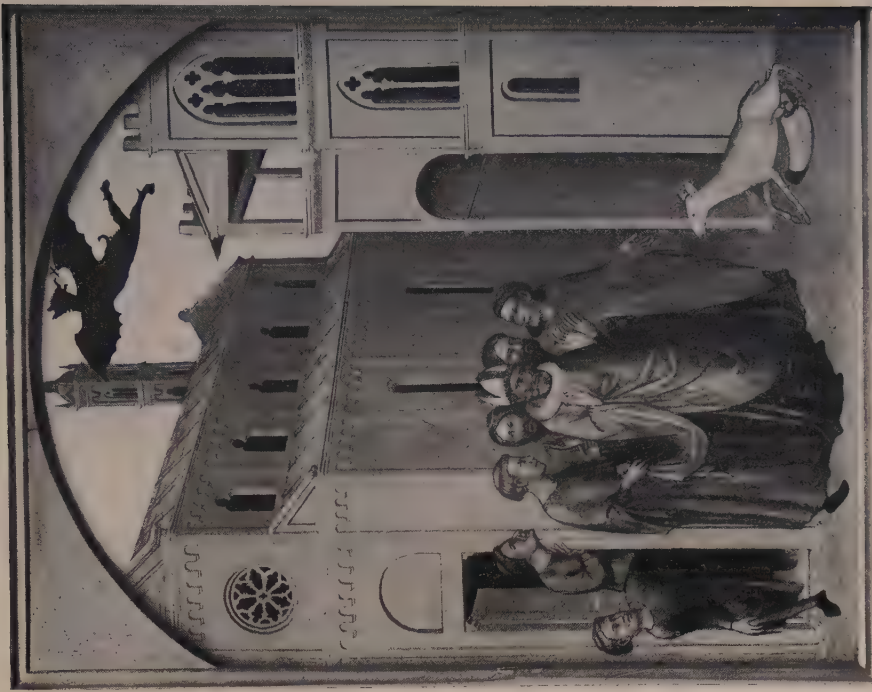


FIG. 81

MARTINO DI BARTOLOMMEO: THE  
INFANT ST. STEPHEN SUCKLED  
BY THE DOE

STAEDEL MUSEUM





FIG. 82

MARTINO DI BARTOLOMMEO: THE  
PAGAN DIVINITIES FALL AT A  
DEACON'S BIDDING  
STAEDEL MUSEUM



FIG. 83

MARTINO DI BARTOLOMMEO: FINDING  
AND BURNING OF THE FALSE INFANT  
STAEDEL MUSEUM





FIG. 84

MARTINO DI BARTOLOMMEO: ORDINA-  
TION OF A DEACON  
STAEDEL MUSEUM



FIG. 85

MARTINO DI BARTOLOMMEO:  
ST. STEPHEN DISPUTING IN  
THE TEMPLE  
STAEDEL MUSEUM



FIG. 86

MARTINO DI BARTOLOMMEO: STONING  
OF ST. STEPHEN  
STAEDEL MUSEUM





FIG. 87

TUSCAN TOWARD 1400: LEGEND OF ST. STEPHEN'S  
INFANCY

S. LUCCHESI, POGGIBONSI





FIG. 88

LORENZO MONACO: CHRIST  
ENTHRONED  
STAEDEL MUSEUM



FIG. 89

BETWEEN ROSSELLO DI JACOPO  
FRANCO AND GIOVANNI DEL  
PONTE: MADONNA  
ENTHRONED

STAEDEL MUSEUM

## ITALIAN ILLUSTRATORS OF THE SPECULUM HUMANAE SALVATIONIS

OF the two Italian series of miniature paintings for the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* that are the subject of this essay, the one shared between the Bibliothèque Nationale (MS Lat. 9,584) and Mr. Riches of Shenley, Herts, is an example of refined and courtly book-illustration for the upper classes of Italian culture at the end of the Middle Ages, while the other at the Paris Arsenal (No. 593) is an unusually clear instance of popular imagery suited to the taste of the small provincial burgher or the less learned cleric.

I shall not attempt a preliminary description and appraisal of the illuminations, as their kind and quality should emerge in the natural course of this essay. Nor shall I tell the student anything about the manuscripts themselves, for all that can be known will be found in the comprehensive and lucid study with which Mr. M. R. James, the provost of Eton, prefaces the edition which we owe to the generosity of Mr. Riches.\* My task will be rather to decide, if I can, to what school and to what date each series of miniatures belongs.

The question of date will be the dominant one in the study of the Riches-Bibliothèque Nationale series, and that of place, in the Arsenal one.

The first affords an occasion for chronological inquiry of the kind that should at present absorb every serious student of the history of medieval and Renaissance art, but of medieval espe-

\* To whom we owe it that we can reproduce here so much from the *Speculum* which he shares with the Bibliothèque Nationale, as well as from the one in the Arsenal Library.



cially. For the art of the Middle Ages, compared with what follows, if not with what precedes it, is impersonal. Not only does it seem more difficult to distinguish between one master and another in the fourteenth and earlier centuries than in the fifteenth and sixteenth—which may of course be due to lack of interest and application—but when one has been at the pains to hypnotize oneself into the perchance merely illusory perception of differences, one is too often invaded by a sense of futility. There is little difference in kind among the artists practicing in a given generation of those centuries, nor is there, thanks to the high standard of workmanship, any sensational difference in quality. It is owing to all this, and to no mere lack of zest that it is still hazardous to ascribe, on internal evidence alone, a picture not documented or authenticated by an unquestionable signature even when that work belongs to the Florence of the advanced Trecento, a community as little medieval as any then in Christendom. All that can safely be done at present is to attempt to assign a work of art to its school, and to date it, if possible, within a given decade. Not that even this is an easy task. Far from it, as classical archaeologists, who have been attempting to do the same in their own sphere will readily agree. We can but endeavor to apply their methods to our own researches. If we do it well, we shall eventually be rewarded with an acquired delicacy and accuracy of perception that may enable us to go further and to distribute the surviving achievements of our period among the leading artistic personalities, and perhaps as a crowning triumph, learn to distinguish between the one and the other.

The attempt to place the Arsénal miniatures will oblige us to cast frequent glances at a problem that has interested me for the last thirty years, the problem of provincialism in art and its close relation to, as well as its apparent identity with, most of the



phenomena of decline and decay. Surely it should seem as absurd to construct a history of art without such inquiries, as it is to write the history of language without the study of the dialects of the backward communities and of the speech of uneducated people in our midst. It is because philology has taken all this into careful account that, from being in Voltaire's time quite as despised as art criticism is now, it has become the most "scientific" of all historical pursuits. If students of the history of art aim, as should students of every branch of historical inquiry, at knowing what really happened, we must follow suit; and in the course of a hundred years we may have earned equal respect.

For the student of the history of painting, the miniatures illustrating a codex are so many designs, pictures, or drawings, which he tries to place, to date, and to attribute. This is what I shall attempt to do for the Riches—Bibliothèque Nationale Speculum.

I tried in the first place to discover another work by the same hand, but with no success. And yet, despite unexpected touches, the style seems familiar enough. The stroke, the technique, are Florentine; the disposition of the voids is Florentine; the elegance is Florentine. And it seems to me not too difficult to date these miniatures. To me, as a student of Italian painting, they say decidedly that they were designed during the last quarter of the Trecento: such is their air of family likeness to much of the painting done in Florence between the completion of Andrea Bonajuti's frescoes in the Spanish Chapel and the beginning of the series of masterpieces due to Fra Angelico, but more particularly to the achievements of the group comprising Spinello Aretino and Lorenzo di Nicolò.

It remains to be seen whether this first or nearly first impression, is strengthened by further study, or so weakened that it has

to be abandoned for a conclusion more in harmony with the results of more detailed research. To this task let us turn at once, first to the question of the school and then to that of the date.

I confess that, to start with, certain somewhat exotic traits made me think of Catalonia, where at Pedralbes, as well as in the chapter house of the cathedral, and elsewhere in or near Barcelona, one sees paintings so Sienese in general character as to speak for a most singular aptitude on the part of the Catalans to assimilate Italian art. Something, however, of Iberic roughness remains to betray them, after one has got over one's admiring surprise. Our miniatures, on the contrary, grow in distinction and in elegance, revealing finer and finer quality the more one looks at them. Drawing of such purity of line, compositions so spacious and clear, types and action so courtly, exist in the Latin world of the time only between the Loire and the Humber in the North, and in Florence in the South.

Serious students will scarcely persist in identifying these illuminations with the more pictorial but less refined products of the north Italian schools, or with the masterpieces of Naples. At Siena nothing is known, to me at least, which could claim kinship with our designs.

Granted that they are Florentine, they contain traits and touches which one supposes would not easily occur in the work of a craftsman who had not wandered far afield from the Valdarno. Let us glance rapidly over the pages of this *Speculum*, and see what we find. Leaving for the moment questions of dress, to which we shall have to devote ourselves presently, we note an image of Our Lady over an altar in the contorted Lorrain pose of the later decades of the fourteenth century (Fig. 90). Nothing so twisted will be discovered in Florence or elsewhere in Tuscany,

and I doubt whether it can be paralleled in Lombardy. In Fig. 91 David, reproved by Nathan, grieves over his sins, with his right leg drawn up on the seat of his throne. Such a position, like the more ordinary one of legs crossed, or wide apart, and other free and easy attitudes, meant to mark sovereign personages, is of happily rare occurrence in Italian art, and when it does it is always a sign of French or perchance Spanish influence.\* It is closely paralleled on a page of the *Livre des Merveilles* of the Bibl. Nat. (MS Français 2,810, Pl. 169 of reproductions). The architecture, where it occurs, as in Fig. 92, which represents town gates, is by no means convincingly Italian. There is something Byzantine about them, not the Byzantine of Greece, but vaguely suggestive of Le Puy en Velay, Périgeux, and Languedoc in general. The bed on which lies the monk visited by the Blessed Virgin rests on pronouncedly Moorish arches (Fig. 93). Finally, the tall slender warriors, with their tight-fitting cuirasses or tunics, long mantles and pouches dangling down their hips, have something of courts and chivalry about them, a suggestion of Templar and later military orders, which again take us far from Calimala and the arts and crafts of later Trecento Florence. In these respects we are perhaps nearer to the just-mentioned *Livre des Merveilles*, certainly French and probably Parisian, than to any Florentine or even Italian imagery. In one point, small but significant, the two MSS are identical. Not only are the crowns in ours spiked and trefled in a way for which there are no parallels in Florence before 1400, but the middle spike, particularly where seen in profile, is so much higher than the rest as to suggest a miter or

\* If my memory does not betray me, the earliest instances of these postures are to be found in the Ashburton and other Catalan MSS of that type. May they have come there over Persia from India? The posture of our David recalls Chinese Lohans as well.



plume. The most conspicuous cases in our MSS are the Augustus (Fig. 94), and the youngest of the Magi (Fig. 95). An identical crown is worn by the king on horseback on Plate 83 of the French work.

It is not unthinkable that a Florentine, not stirring from Florence, would have somehow acquired these exotic traits. He might have got them through books of images brought from beyond the Cottian Alps, from Spain, or from the Ægean. There was ever so much more coming and going in the Middle Ages than we are apt now to bear in mind, and with it went fetching and carrying from place to place. Yet considering how much there is in our illuminator that is foreign, I am inclined to place him among the wanderers. Where was there not a Florentine toward 1400? Perhaps ours had been not only to France, but to Spain, and even to the Morea. I should not be overwhelmed with surprise if it were proved that this *Speculum* was illustrated for the library of a castle in Laconia or Achaia.\*

If he was much traveled in spirit, and likely enough in body as well, we shall have to be doubly wary when attempting, as we now shall, to assign a date to his miniatures. Although Latin Europe was in all things one, there were not only within a given

\* There is elegance of a Byzantine type hard to define which pervades our *Speculum* and an elegance that certainly is more refined than contemporary Greek work at Constantinople or Mistra, and more like the court schools of illumination of the ninth to eleventh centuries. The Sisera in our *Speculum* is a good instance (Fig. 96). Even the attitude went out of Italian art with Cavallini's "Jacob" at S. Cecilia in Rome, although it is common in the Byzantine mosaics at Palermo, at Venice, in the Florence baptistery, etc. Our author may have got it from some Greek miniature of the Macedonian period. Then it must be remembered that Byzantinism persists in illumination longer than in the other arts, in the North particularly. Thus the painter of Queen Mary's Psalter represents this slaying of Sisera in a fashion (p. 56 of British Museum publication, 1912) so identical with ours as to prove that both must be due to a common, and I venture to add, Byzantine source. Again in our *Speculum* David slaying the bear and the lion, in which

formula numbers of local variants, but there was a difference amounting to decades between the prevalence of forms and fashions in places at a certain distance from each other. It is quite easy for a vagabond artist to pick up peculiarities which would not reach his sedentary fellow citizens for many years. We shall do well, therefore, to be shy of making too much of one, or even two indications. Before concluding we must find a general accord not only between most of the peculiarities of fashion in costume, but between these and iconographic innovations, and between all of these and the rhythm of the pattern, the tempo of the arabesque—if we may be allowed the phrase.

Iconography has the advantage of being easily followed, and for that reason has always been held in esteem by serious students of the history of art. Unfortunately it has been neglected in recent decades, with the consequence that, while scores and hundreds of volumes have been published regarding the criticism, connoisseurship, appreciation, theory, technique, psychology, and psychoanalysis of medieval and Renaissance art in general, and Italian art in particular, we have as yet not a single study of the Annunciation, the Crucifixion, the Nativity, the Entombment, the Resurrection, or any of the other themes constantly

composition as a rule the youthful hero appears as a mere lad, is here represented, as a knight of ripe years, in long mantle, astride over the two beasts with his sword in the maw of the one, and lance between the jaws of the other (Fig. 97). I do not discover a parallel but I cannot get rid of the feeling that here too there is something definitely Byzantine. So, moreover, are the jeweled cruciform haloes that we find in the Creation of Eve (Fig. 98) and in the Entombment (Fig. 99) common enough everywhere in the Middle Ages but tending to disappear in the Trecento. The closest resemblance I can discover to the pattern in the halo of the Entombment occurs oddly enough in the miniatures illustrating a French Bible story, made by some Tuscan working probably for the Angevines at Naples or some other French-speaking court in the second half of the fourteenth century (Fig. 100). Other examples will be found in the Morgan library MS No. 643, of which we speak later on in this article (Figs. 136 and 137).

occurring in Christian art that can even remotely be compared with the one exemplary inquiry of Hugo Kehr, "The Three Magi in Literature and Art." Consequently students like myself are left to their own resources, and these may be meager, as indeed in my case they are.

So with every warning against my own incompetence and with due apologies for my temerity, I, who have small acquaintance with such matters, venture to speak of the way the Annunciation and Crucifixion are represented in our manuscript, not of those which conform to the usual types but of those which depart from them.

Among the several instances of the Annunciation there is one (Fig. 101) in which the angel kneels with folded arms before the Blessed Virgin, who also kneels with hands folded over her breast.\* The earliest exact parallel to this arrangement known to me, crowns the small reredos in the Chapel of the Crucifix at S. Miniato above Florence (Fig. 102). And this painting is scarcely earlier than the last years of the Trecento, in fact probably of 1396, and begun by Agnolo Gaddi.† Before that, it is approached in only a very few instances, as in the fresco at Viboldone near Milan of the middle of the century, or in the elaborate

\* Mr. Riches, the owner of the MS, has had the kindness to tell me that this particular illustration is not the Annunciation to the Virgin but the prediction to St. Anne of Mary's birth. I have no time to look into the matter as thoroughly as the importance of the subject demands, so I fear I must fall back on my impression that in Italy the difference in treatment does not hold invariably and that the Annunciation to the Virgin is represented as in Fig. 101.

† I suspect that the folded hands of both the figures in the Annunciation first crept in, almost surreptitiously, as it were, as busts on finials of polyptychs. They are found thus on two works by Alegretto Nuzi, one at Fabriano (Colasanti, *Gentile da Fabriano*, p. 13, photo. Ministero C. 15,157) and the other in the Cook Collection at Richmond (Van Marle, *Schools of Italian Painting*, III, 396, photo. Anderson 18,471), and quite likely this winsome but scarcely inventive provincial took them over from the Orcagnas or even from Bernardo Daddi.



polyptych of the Bologna Gallery ascribed to Jacopo d'Avanzi (photo. Alinari 10,732). In both these designs, however, not only are the figures stiffer than in ours but the action retains a curious transitional feature. One of the angel's hands remains free to bless or address. Even the completely folded arms of the angel alone are hard to find before 1400, although they can be traced back to 1337, when they were enameled by Ugolino di Vieri for the shrine at Orvieto (photo. Alinari 25,836). I have not discovered a dozen instances in works of art executed before 1400. After that date they are common in Florence, and not least among the illuminations of the following of Lorenzo Monaco and Fra Angelico.\*

The inference is, that there was a tendency to this treatment of the subject from the middle of the Trecento, which went on increasing until 1450 at least, and that our manuscript, in which it occurs so conspicuously, is thus more likely to have been illuminated toward the end of the fourteenth century rather than earlier.

Perhaps the Crucifixion (Fig. 103) is as rare a treatment of that subject as the Annunciation (Fig. 101) proved to be, and as easy to date. Instead of standing, as they almost always do, at the foot of the cross, here the mother of Our Lord, and the Beloved Disciple crouch on the ground. This attempt to express grief by the position of the body is itself a trait of the later Middle Ages, and, in as pronounced a fashion as this, found rarely before 1400.

To my knowledge (which is very limited) it was Bernardo Daddi who at a date scarcely earlier than 1340 first designed a Crucifixion with the mother and the disciple not erect. In a small triptych of the Fogg Museum at Harvard University (Plate 1 of

\* A good example in England occurs in a Book of Hours in the Dyson Perrins Collection (Fig. 67 of *Catalogue*). It is by a follower of Fra Angelico.

*Catalogue*) these figures are seated on rocks. They remain, however, no less restrained in their sorrow than if they were standing. And in another small picture, of a few years later, a Crucifixion of the school of Simone Martini in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, the figures squatting on the ground take no advantage of the posture (Van Marle, II, Fig. 180); nor do the figures in the gable of "Ugolino Lorenzetti's" triptych, representing the Madonna with the Baptist and Catherine between Michael and Paul, in the New York Historical Society (B. 16); nor even Nicolò di Buonacorso's panel of about 1370 in the Perugia Gallery (Van Marle, II, Fig. 335). Then in 1377 Giovanni del Biondo, something of an innovator in iconography, and given to allegorizing, crowns an ordinary panel of a Madonna with a Crucifixion where Our Lady and the Evangelist crouch on the ground in attitudes more expressive. Note, however, how quiet they are. Indeed, one asks whether even del Biondo had any intention except to bring the figures down as much as was required by the low space at command in a gable (Siena Gallery, photo. Alinari 36,647, Van Marle, *Italian Schools*, III, 524). Somewhat later is the roundel with the crouching figures which crowns another panel of the Fogg Museum (Fig. 2 of *Catalogue*) ascribed to the school of Orcagna.

Again, the space may have dictated the composition. A trifle later still, and toward the very end of the Trecento, is the Crucifixion above a Madonna and saints in the Jarves Collection at Yale University (Pl. 16 of *Catalogue*) ascribed to Jacopo di Cione. Here, too, it would seem that it was rather the space than a need for the expression of a special grief, which brought the two attendant figures to a squatting posture on the ground. And no earlier is the fragment, possibly Sienese, in the magazine of the Vatican Gallery (photo. Alinari 38,122). The first painter I can



discover to have placed these personages on the ground with deliberately dramatic intention, and not because there was no room for standing them erect, was Lorenzo Monaco, in two delightful panels, one in the Charles Loeser Collection at Florence (Bardini Sale *Catalogue* or Sirén's Lorenzo Monaco) and the other in the Jarves Collection (Pl. 24 of *Catalogue*), neither painted before 1400.\* In this master's following, the theme had considerable vogue (Fig. 104), but for our purpose it suffices to remark that before 1400, the precise treatment of the subject that we find in our *Speculum* is extremely rare, in panel and fresco painting at least. It is possible that a better acquaintance with manuscripts would reveal that it was current in miniatures well before 1400. The only design of this kind I have been able to discover is reproduced by Hans Tietze on page 86 of his *Illuminirte Handschriften der Rossiana*, and occurs in a missal ascribed to the Neapolitan school, presumably toward 1370. I venture to doubt whether it is so early. Our version is, in any event, much later as, in expression as well as action, it is so much nearer to the worst exaggerations of Lorenzo Monaco and his followers. The two outstanding peculiarities of an obvious nature that we find in our manuscript thus point to a date not far from the end of the Trecento. Let us now see what evidence is yielded by the examination of dress, accessories, landscape, etc.†

The history of dress, if it is to be useful to students like our-

\* The central panel of a polyptych at Dijon has the figures seated at the foot of the cross. But this work, north Italian, probably Piedmontese, is, despite its archaic appearance, as late perhaps as 1450.

† Am I justified, I wonder, in fancying that there is something close to Fra Angelico in the shivering nudes of the Last Judgment (Fig. 105), or that in the Fall of Lucifer (Fig. 106) Our Lord and His Angels form a procession which again is rather late, so that examples of it do not readily occur to me before the famous French drawing in the Louvre, dating from the end of the fourteenth century (Michel, *Histoire de l'Art*, III, 1, 153).

selves, should be written and illustrated in such detail that we could follow in chronological sequence every slight change in fashion from region to region, and center to center. Such a history would help not only to place a work of art but to date it. Unfortunately this history does not at present exist, and without it people who have not devoted a lifetime to the study of dress can have but vague, and perhaps even confused notions.

The illuminator of our *Speculum* was not indifferent to dress. He not only liked it, but seems to have had clear preferences, and a definite ideal of elegance, an ideal, I may add, that we still can approve. Allowing for the chance that he was something of a dandy in fashions, it yet ought to be possible for the specialist to say just when and where he must have practiced. I cannot even attempt it. I can only endeavor to make certain comparisons between the dress we find here and that in works of art whose region and date are already known or more easily ascertained.

In Italian painting, dress, until toward the middle of the fourteenth century, reflects current fashions but slightly. Then all of a sudden interest is aroused in Florence no less than in Milan or Naples; and in Nardo di Cione's "Paradise" at S. Maria Novella it is already pronounced. But a definite intention to clothe everybody in the garb of the day appears—I speak with diffidence and for Tuscany only—scarcely earlier than toward 1370, as, for instance, in Andrea da Firenze's frescoes in the Spanish Chapel. Then, till the end of the century, there is to an eye not trained to observe such things, no striking change, until, after the turn of the next century, fashions themselves change and are only too well recorded with all their fopperies and absurdities in early Quattrocento painting all over Europe.

To this third phase of Trecento dress, known from many



series of frescoes not only in Tuscany but in north Italy as well, particularly in the Milanese, in Verona, in Padua and Treviso, the illuminations in our *Speculum* certainly belong. It would be desirable, however, to get closer to the date than an entire third of a century, and perhaps by looking carefully we shall find our way to it. Naturally, the determinants are the latest ascertainable elements, for earlier than these the designs cannot be.

A frequent item of female dress in our *Speculum* is a sort of scarf or hood wrapped around the back of the head and tossed over the shoulders, always smartly and even coquettishly. A typical instance is the coiffure of the spinning Eve (Fig. 107), a figure curiously modern in some ways. I have searched for a parallel, but without success, except for two instances. Plate 150 in the *Livre des Merveilles* already referred to, and dating from perhaps as late as 1410, shows a shepherdess so coiffed, and in the *Heures du Marechal de Boucicaut*, a work of the same school and date, we find a similar coiffure on the woman who accompanies Our Lady in the Presentation of the Holy Child in the Temple (reprod. as Pl. 14 of Appendix to Fierens-Gervaeerts, *Les Très Belles Heures de Jean de France* [Brussels, 1924]). Vague approaches to this type of headdress are found in French, Westphalian, and Rhenish pictures of the same period so that as a fashion it could scarcely have prevailed much earlier than 1400.\*

Not infrequent in our *Speculum* is a slender curling feather

\* In a Spanish Annunciation of the early fifteenth century in the Fogg Museum of Harvard University (No. 51, reproduced in *Catalogue*) the Virgin wears daintily a kerchief falling down from the back of the head, but not tossed over the shoulder. A somewhat similar arrangement is found on the head of a woman behind the bed in Lorenzo di San Severino's fresco of the Birth of the Baptist in the Oratory of St. John at Urbino (photo. Alinari Pe. 2, No. 17,570) dating from 1416 or so.

waving from the caps and helmets of the warriors, as, for instance, the one in the Trial of Moses (Fig. 108), or the one in the Return of the Prodigal Son (Fig. 109), or best of all the plume in the Death of Codrus (Fig. 110). These are rare in Tuscan painting of the Trecento, and I discover but faint and timid approaches to their like at the end of that period in Cennino Cennini's Legend of the True Cross painted at Volterra in 1410 (Fig. 165). Elsewhere in Italy I find but two instances of something resembling it, not feathers or plumes, however, but a long curved sort of toothpick sticking out of helmets. They occur in an Epiphany at S. Lorenzo, Naples, of about 1350 (photo. Ministero C. 1,590), in a Crucifixion at S. Fermo in Verona, of somewhat later date (Van Marle, IV, 185), and in the Yates Thompson *Liber Trojanus*, a Veneto-Byzantine work of the declining Trecento (Pl. XXII<sup>b</sup> of "Ten Italian MSS from the XI to the XVI centuries in the Library of Henry Yates Thompson"). Out of Italy it is almost equally rare. Of the two or three I have encountered the nearest, although still rather timid approach, is one worn by the younger of the three kings in an Aragonese altarpiece of 1396 (V. von Loga, *Die Malerei in Spanien*, p. 12). I recall, however, something of the kind in Byzantine miniatures of a much earlier period,—those same Byzantine miniatures which the western painters of the Middle Ages seem unable to forget.

Some of the warriors in our Speculum, instead of plumes, wear a sprig, as does the slayer of Abimelech (Fig. 120), or a shaggy bush, as in the Princess of Saba, or a star-shaped construction like a chandelier or cottage hatrack, as in the Death of Codrus (Fig. 110). Is it pretending too much to assume that no one will attribute absurdities like this last to any moment earlier than the end of the fourteenth century? Still less will one give them an



Italian origin.\* There is about them an unawareness of the ludicrous such as still touches us with envy when we witness a loyally orthodox performance of "Parsifal" or even of "Tristan." And, indeed, the closest resemblance to these excrescences occurs in another manuscript of the *Speculum* reproduced by Lutz and Perdrizet in their encyclopedic work on the subject.† Look, for instance, at the Abraham and Melchisedec (Pl. 32), or the David (Pl. 73) or the Joab (Pl. 74). Elsewhere, my painfully limited acquaintance with such matters has failed to discover anything like it.‡ The nearest approach that I can find—but how transmuted!—are the plumes of the glorious "St. George" in the Franco-Catalan masterpiece belonging to the late Mr. Charles Deering of Chicago,§ and of certain warriors in the Italo-Byzantine frescoes of the same early Quattrocento date at Galatina in the heart of Apulia (photo. Moscioni 8,476).

\* The sprigs shooting up from the helmets on Fol. 23<sup>r</sup> of a Bolognese, or more likely Neapolitan *Hieronymus Vitae Patrum* of 1350–70 in the Pierpont Morgan Library, come near to these, but avoid absurdity (Fig. 111).

† The learned authors seem convinced (I, xviii) that these illustrations are Alsatian and from the middle of the fourteenth century. It distresses me not to be able to agree with them. The spirited and entertaining pen sketches seem to have been made by some Teuton who suffered the strongest possible Veronese influence during the last decades of the Trecento, and was thus more likely from the southern Tyrol, from Bozen or Brixen, or some other place of that region. It is not impossible that some such MSS as this was known to the illuminator of our *Speculum*.

‡ A tufted plume in Italy is so rare, exotic, and late that the earliest instance I can find waves from a striped, conical miter obviously Persian, worn by an officer, in the "Crucifixion" of about 1400 in the Chapel of the Madonna in the Sacro Speco at Subiaco (photo. Alinari 26,232–26,233). It is, in fact, very noticeable that fanciful plumes and helmets grow more and more absurd as chivalry degenerates into a Lord Mayor's show, as it did particularly in Florence toward 1450, e.g., in Paolo Uccello's battle pieces.

§ Reproduced in Michel's *Histoire de l'Art*, III, 2, 773. I saw it at Sitjes near Barcelona in the spring of 1919. I seem to have heard a rumor that since then it has been taken to Chicago.

To the elaborately spiked trefled crowns reference was made early in this study. Open our Speculum at random, look at David playing on the psalter, or at Solomon enthroned (Fig. 112), or at the three kings (Fig. 95), and you find crowns with projecting three-lobed prongs of an elaboration seldom found in Florence before the end of the fourteenth century and only less rarely elsewhere. Even out of Italy, where crowns were always less modest, such elaboration comes in only a little before 1400, and does not attain the excesses of jewelery found in the "St. George" just mentioned, until a generation later. In Tuscany, too, such crowns occur only well on in the Quattrocento, as, for instance, in Rossello di Franco's "St. Catherine" in the Dominican church at S. Miniato al Tedesco (Fig. 113). These go way beyond the crowns in our MSS, to which the nearest parallels are to be found in the last works of Giovanni del Biondo, as, for instance, the "St. Catherine Disputing" in the Otto Kahn Collection in New York (Fig. 114) and, better still, in the numerous paintings of Lorenzo di Nicolò (dating, by the way, from no earlier than 1400), as, for instance, the Madonna belonging to Mr. Kingsley Porter of Harvard University (Fig. 115).

I need scarcely add that the flattened helmet, worn like an inverted dish, is the commonest headgear of soldiery in Tuscan painting of the last years of the fourteenth century, from the later Spinello to Mariotto di Nardo and Lorenzo di Nicolò. On the other hand, the sacklike cloth caps worn by the man climbing to the altar of the sun, although already known in Paris and London at this time, make their definite appearance in Italy later, and in Tuscany and Umbria not for two or three decades. Another surprisingly later symptom in our Speculum is the occurrence of a closely cropped head, as that of the attendant in the representa-



tion of Naaman washing in the Jordan (Fig. 116),\* or of the foremost bearer of the Ark of the Covenant (Fig. 117), of David slaying the lion and the bear (Fig. 97), of the piper in the Feast of Ahasuerus (Fig. 118), etc. Now I cannot recall such polls before Fra Angelico, which means that before that painter's activity such heads are seldom found in Italian design.

If it was the intention here to sustain that the illustrations of our *Speculum* are already of the Quattrocento it would be easy to summon still further data to witness. On the contrary, I keep in mind the likelihood that our illuminator was a traveled person, or one who, at all events, had been in touch with much that was neither strictly Florentine nor of his time.† Nevertheless, even though he may have been all that, and something of an innovator in matters of dress and fashion besides, yet he surely was not ahead of his contemporaries by more than one or at the utmost two decades. Assuming that some of the traits we have mentioned are characteristic of about 1410, we should thus place this *Speculum* as late as 1390. Some such date would perhaps suit the tunics with the belts composed of rectangular buckles low on the hips, worn, not only by the soldiery, as can be seen again and again in our MSS (e.g., Christ in the Garden, Pilate washing his hands

\* I owe my knowledge of this subject again to Mr. Riches, for I had taken it to be the Baptism.

† In Fig. 117, some of the Israelites carrying the Ark across the Jordan wear capes covering their heads and shoulders which are adorned with a vertical stripe. Among the Moriscos of Spain our illuminator might have seen the like at any time. Perhaps, however, he means to represent the hood of Jewish ritual, which would in turn indicate that he was more sensitive to foreign things, than most of his contemporaries. Among these few, however, was a late Trecento Umbro-Marchigian painter who left four upright panels with sixteen episodes from the life of Christ, which are now in the gallery of Trevi (photo. Ministero C. 1,996). In the one representing Christ among the Doctors, one or two of these wear such striped hoods. This particular stripe in Florence is rare. It occurs a little more frequently at Siena, but only at the end of the fourteenth century.

[Fig. 119], the Way to Golgotha), but by civilians as well, the musicians, for example, in the Feast of Ahasuerus (Fig. 118). The earliest dated instance\* of this precise fashion that has come my way occurs in a Bible story, painted for Charles V of France in 1372, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Michel, *Histoire de l'Art*, III, i, p. 116). On the other hand, the trailing robes open at the sides, as in the Abimelech (Fig. 120), are conspicuous only in the later years of the Duc de Berri, as for instance in the *Livre des Merveilles*, and in such a Florentine work as Cennino Cennini's fresco of the True Cross at Volterra, already mentioned (Fig. 165). Another detail, which must not be forgotten, is the embroidered rectangle on the skirts of the Virgins, or of the angels in the Lot leaving Sodom, and in the Annunciation (Fig. 121). That, too (if I am not in error), appears rarely before 1400, but is quite common in the decades immediately following.

But enough of this. Turning to other details, somebody must or should know just what the architecture that occurs in this *Speculum* has to say. My own feeling is that a Gothic structure with a touch (a mere coincidence of course) almost of the south Indian as we see in the dome-shaped building in the Jeremiah (Fig. 122) is not likely to have been possible before the last years of the Trecento, although it is of course anticipated in manuscripts of earlier date, as, for instance, the Bodleian Apocalypse type (Roxburghe Club, 1922, pp. 4, 6, 7, 9, and 69), and the Cambridge Edward the Confessor (Roxburghe Club, 1920, p. 31). There must be students, too, who can tell where the chintz-like landscape comes from. The trees are in direct line of descent from Byzantine foliage easily traced back as far as S. Apollinare

\* Although it may have occurred earlier and is certainly approached in Giovanni da Milano (Uffizi) and Andrea da Firenze (Spanish Chapel), as well as in the famous frescoes at the Incoronata at Naples, and in others in the Milanese.



in Classe at Ravenna, and common everywhere till toward 1300, not least in the numerous illuminated works done between the Loire and the Humber in the thirteenth century. In Italy the trees tend to a certain naturalism, and I confess to some surprise at their remaining so entirely conventional in our manuscript. And yet the branches have a faint semblance of solidity and the rhythm of the whole is far from the vertical stiffness of periods earlier than the end of the Trecento.\*

From the tiny red and blue flowers on their little green stocks powdered over the ground I, for one, can draw no conclusions. They produce the same effect, however, of broken up, scattered pattern that we find so often from about 1330 onward, particularly in the late Daddi and his numerous following. Nor am I sure that the frequent occurrence of coast and river scenery, as in the Mare Aenaeum of the Temple which is represented as a deep-sea inlet with forts at the entrance, in Naaman in the Jordan (Fig. 116) or in Jonah thrown overboard (Fig. 123), and emerging from the whale's belly (Fig. 124), do not indicate an unusual interest in landscape, and, as I am inclined to believe, no early date in the fourteenth century.†

\* Except that in our *Speculum* the stems have more grace of curve, the trees are singularly close to those that we find in the Egerton Genesis which Dr. James would date as late as 1360, and which Mr. Sydney Cockerell assigns to the region around Bordeaux. See particularly No. 23 of the Roxburghe Club's publication of this manuscript (1921). It is not without interest that another work in which trees like these occur comes from Navarre and is dated 1396. (See Von Loga's *Malerei in Spanien*, p. 12.)

† Harbors are represented in this way by the illuminators who worked for the Duc de Berri and his circle, as, for instance, in the Flight into Egypt in *Les Très Belles Heures de Jean de France* (Pl. X of reproductions published by Fierens-Gevaert, Brussels, 1924). Such inlets occur also in Sassetta, who, Siennese though he is, has many points of contact with the Parisians of about 1400. See, for instance, his St. Anthony in the Lehman Collection, New York (Kleinberger Catalogue No. 52).

Certain students should be able to make deductions from the precise way in which the equine elephant is misrepresented here (Fig. 125), and other deductions from the kind of tendril that comes up frequently here, there, and everywhere. I do not know enough to undertake the inquiries.

I doubt whether I could with profit attempt to carry the analysis further. The results I have obtained, far as they may be, singly or taken together, from converging upon a clear conclusion, are yet in no way contradictory nor do they oblige me to reconsider my spontaneous sense that these illustrations are Florentine from the end of the Trecento. And these same results can be interpreted either as a strong confirmation of this quasi-intuitive sense, or as the more or less successful attempt to dissolve this vague intuition into its substantial component parts.

I should, in fact, give them no great consideration, singly or taken together, if they did not conform to the rhythm and to the tempo which should animate a late fourteenth-century European design. For the rhythm is as necessary to a pattern as a common denominator to an equation. And as a matter of fact the mobility, agility, and sprightliness of our illustrations, not alone in the action of the figures but in the drawing, in the sway of the line, and in the curves, do give me the very rhythm I expect.

Thus, it was only after Chinese silks had been known to westerners for two generations at least, that there came, in the last third of the Trecento, curves so free, so swaying, so remote from stiff tracery, as the Tree of Jesse in Figure 126. And every finial tends to wave like a feather in the breeze, and whatever can, takes a twist, as do the tips of crowns, diadems, and of course plumes. Or look at the lines on the altar-frontal under the swaying Madonna (Fig. 90) that we noted earlier in this essay. You begin to



find the same stir of the merely ornamental patterns in Giovanni da Milano. It has gone much further in the arabesques on the Virgin's dress in the Uffizi Annunciation, ascribed to, but certainly not by, Agnolo Gaddi (Van Marle, III, 546). Giovanni del Biondo in his last phase, toward 1390 that is, in such a work as the fragment of a Coronation at Liverpool (Fig. 127), shows ornaments on the dresses which have all but the exact rhythm constant in our *Speculum*.\*

Since Didron, it has been customary to couple our *Speculum* with one at the Arsenal in Paris (No. 593).† Whatever they may have in common as texts, and as calligraphy, they share as design only what cannot help being shared when two artists in the same country, at nearly the same time, are working on the same subjects, particularly when, as in this case, there is good reason to believe, there was a prototype which both had to follow. If, however, we must at all costs assume that one of these two was indebted to the other, it is the illuminator of the Arsenal manuscript who owed something to the artist who illustrated the one divided up between Mr. Riches and the Bibliothèque Nationale.

For the Arsenal *Speculum* is as rustic and homely, as naïve and hearty, as the other is elegant, courtly, and classical. The latter could have been produced only by an artist who had been

\* It is no longer to be doubted that in matters of ornament, China, throughout the entire fourteenth century, was exerting an ever increasing influence upon Italy and the rest of Latin Europe. See on this question, O. von Falke's *Kunstgeschichte der Seidenweberei*, one of the few great contributions to the history of art that have been made in recent years. How curiously like the patterns I have just been writing about are those from much earlier Chinese works of art reproduced in a delightful popular book that has just appeared, Otto Kummel's *Östasiatisches Gerät*, on pp. 27, 111, and 130.

† *Christian Iconography*, p. 204 of English transl. pub. by G. Bell & Sons.

trained, and spent most of his life in great centers; the former by one who was bred and lived in some out-of-the-way corner of his country, or in some upland valley of difficult access. In such a place fashions, not only in dress but in thought and feeling, linger on for scores, perhaps for hundreds of years after they have vanished from the highways—not necessarily that the denizens are averse to novelty, but that they lack opportunity. When it comes their way they may pounce upon it almost as absurdly as the Congolese brave who clothes his nakedness with a cravat and a top hat.\* But to come to our point, such woodnotes wild as the illuminations of the *Arsénal Speculum* would scarcely have attracted a refined artist like the author of the *Riches-Bibliothèque Nationale Speculum*, whereas his readiness, his charm, his daintiness, might easily have captivated our rustic.

Rustic he is and quaint, and naïf, of course, but unimpeded, free from inferiority complexes, direct in expression and, in his own way, highly competent. He never leaves a doubt as to what he feels, and not only does he convince us of his sincerity, but he wins us over to the poignant, passionate, highly emotional character of his art.

I cannot resist the temptation to invite the reader to look at some of the reproductions with me. Take the rustically well-to-do Lot (Fig. 128) marching sturdily unconcerned between his two prim little daughters, while with the sweetest of smiles his wife, turning into a pillar of salt, submits with hands folded on breast to the monition of the angel; or the naked prodigal son embraced by his fat village elder of a father (Fig. 129); or the

\* Despite Professor Strzygowski, his *Lehrkanzel*, the imposing publications of himself, his pupils, and his numberless admirers, I cannot shake off my conviction that fashions in top hats and cravats do, as a rule, go from Bond Street and the Rue de la Paix to the Congolese heart of darkness, and not the other way round.

boohooing David when brought to repentance by the wooden Nathan (Fig. 130). After these instances of our illuminator's quaint simplicity, look for examples of his unrestrained feeling, at his Jeremiah wringing his hands over Jerusalem (Fig. 131), or at Our Lady in the Crucifixion with her cheeks between her fists, and John wailing with wide-open mouth (Fig. 133).

There is something Teutonic rather than Italian in this quaintness and in this vehemence suggestive of illustrations in the later block-books, and such earlier bas-reliefs as on the west lectern at Naumburg. And there is something Teutonic too, as of Grünewald and other artists centuries later, in the Jonah clambering onto an iceberg to escape a streaked and sinister-looking sea (Fig. 134). More French on the other hand than German is the humor in the Last Judgment (Fig. 135), a devil clasping a sinner with Gallic *malice* rather than with fiendish malignity.\*

Yet it is not likely that the illuminator of the *Arsenal Speculum* was from the frontier regions separating Italian from French or German speaking people, nor is it likely that he was from Piedmont or Liguria, Friuli or Istria. We have only to remember what was being done well on in the second half of the Quattrocento by the Canevesios or the Castuas and earlier painters remotely deserving the name of artist, to see that in those regions, remote from the "hot-houses of civilization," nobody before 1450 was capable of such an achievement. And our illuminator did not work as late as that, not by half a century.

He comes much nearer to the artists of another frontier, this time not of language but rather of civilization. The cultured

\* Almost any French Cathedral façade will furnish examples, and many are offered by manuscripts. I cite one that happens to come to mind, the devils leading away the damned in the Psalter of the Ste. Geneviève Library (No. 1,273, fol. 19, reproduced in *Bulletin de la S.F.R.M.P.*, 1921, Pl. XI).



Italy of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is bounded on the south and east by a line that roughly extends from Rimini to Foligno, from Foligno to Spoleto, from Spoleto to Rome. There were of course oases of intellectual and aesthetic humanism beyond this pale, like Urbino in the north—limited, however, to the second half of the Quattrocento—and Naples, Palermo, and Messina in the south. For the rest there was only a backwoods spirit. Those artists, like Alegretto Nuzi and Gentile da Fabriano, Arcangelo di Cola, and probably Nicolò da Guardiagrele, who were able to do so went themselves to Florence or perhaps, as possibly Gentile, to Paris, and some, like Mezzastris, Niccolò d'Alunno, and Lorenzo da Sanseverino, waited for the light from the Arno or the Seine to come to them in the shape of Benozzo Gozzoli or some unknown Franco-Flemish wanderer, or else from Venice, which sent numberless ready-made altarpieces, and one of its best sons, Carlo Crivelli, in person. Even where these enlightening influences reached, or even where the artists had actually studied in Florence, there was a tendency to oversimplify, overschematize, to scamp modeling or, worse still, to abuse it, as well as to ignore functional contours, and to reduce them to mere outlines.\*

Alegretto Nuzi falls more and more into these faults the longer he stays away from Florence, and this is naturally truer still of the painters who never sojourned there, like Antonio or Francesco di Gentile of Fabriano, Boccatis and Girolamo di Giovanni of Camerino, or of Matteo of Gualdo or Mezzastris of Fo-

\* In a shrinking civilization these tendencies, which at first, as in the decay of Antiquity, prevail only on the remote Mesopotamian, Libyan, or Armenian *Limes*, accompany the retreating political frontiers to the far more vital cultural ones and at last reach the capitals. It is thus that the crude and amusing Sassanians, and the crude and dull Copts certainly anticipated and finally perhaps hastened the decline of the figure art in Constantinople and Rome itself.

ligno. And these are all from well within or just outside the boundary. If you go to the less accessible uplands above Spoleto, if you fare to Noceletto at the sources of the Nera, or to the mountain valley of Norcia, you meet with paintings\* which but for the difference in content and type and dress are the exact equivalents of the attenuated outlines on the banks of the Euphrates, recently discovered and admirably published by Professor Breasted.†

In somewhat earlier periods, when this country, for reasons that I know not, was more prosperous, the cultural frontier extended further south and took in a good part of the Abruzzo. Byzantine influences from the south and east left traces there which the later overlaying by the followers of Cavallini coming from Rome, and of Baronzio from the Romagna, did not cancel. Together these influences, with a dash of Siennese or French, due to the neighborhood of Assisi, as well as to painters on pilgrimage, constituted a type if not a style of painting, which can even in the Trecento be distinguished as Umbrian. You may judge how unprogressive it was by the frescoes toward 1400 still redolent of the tenth-rate Meo or of the great Cavallini in the Chapel of the Madonna in the Sacro Speco at Subiaco, as well as from miniatures of that date and later at Guardiagrele, at Stroncone, and at Perugia itself.‡ What this Umbrian Trecento could do at

\* For instance the frescoes of Nicola Senese at Cascia, or those of a painter whose name has not reached me, at S. Maria in Norcia itself, both series photographed by the *Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione*.

† *Oriental Forerunners of Byzantine Painting*, The University of Chicago Press, 1923. Franz Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura-Europos*, Paris, Geuthner, 1926.

‡ The frescoes at Subiaco of the Joys and Sorrows of Our Lady have been photographed by Alinari and two or three are reproduced in Colasanti's *L'Aniene* in the "Italia Artistica" series. Some of the Guardiagrele miniatures are reproduced in Vincenzo Balzano's *Arte Abruzzese*, Bergamo, 1910, pp. 62-66, and one from Stroncone on p. 129 of L. Lanzi's *Terni* in the "Italia Artistica" series and also some of the Perugian in Gnoli's *L'Arte Umbra alla Mostra di Perugia*, pp. 201-203 and Gallenga Stuart's *Perugia* in "Italia Artistica" series, pp. 106-107.



its best is displayed in thirty-eight illuminations for a life of Our Lord that used to be in the Henry Yates Thompson Collection and are now in the Morgan Library in New York (Figs. 136 and 137).\*

It is worthy of remark that the artists of this school, although overwhelmingly influenced by Pietro Lorenzetti's frescoes at Assisi, remain unaffected by the more suave and sane art that Giotto or Simone left in the shrine. Fever, plague, pestilence, tended perhaps to make of the people of this region a highly emotional, vehement, violent race. Pietro, with his reckless expressiveness, revealed them to themselves, while greater artists left them indifferent.

The illuminator of the *Arsénal Speculum*, to whom we now return, was acquainted either with these frescoes or with derivations from them. Seeing how clumsy, how unarticulated, how wooden he is so much of the time, it is hard to believe that he himself invented certain intensifications of Pietro's extravagance. Thus in the Descent from the Cross (Fig. 138) and the Entombment (Fig. 139) the grief of Our Lady is so frantic that in her wild embrace her own and her Son's heads become almost inextricable, the faces invisible. Now although I have not succeeded in discovering an exact parallel to these compositions,—a fact which may be due to my too limited acquaintance with Umbria,

\* Ten of them are reproduced as Pls. V-XV of *Illustrations of One Hundred Manuscripts in the Library of H.Y.T.*, "Ten Italian MSS." Their author was as much influenced by the Riminese as by Cavallini and descends from some such a master as the painter of the Tree of Bonaventura in the Florence Academy. Prof. Richard Offner has ascribed this altarpiece to Pacino di Bonaguida (*Art in America*, Dec., 1922). And yet despite its presence in Florence it is not a Florentine but a Riminese-Umbrian work, even though its author should turn out to have been a Florentine by birth, and even though it should have been executed in or near Florence. Professor Offner should, by the way, be credited with having first signaled its relation to the Thompson-Morgan miniatures.



the Marches, and the Abruzzo,—there can be no serious doubt that they descend from Umbrian masters like the follower of Lorenzetti who painted these subjects in S. Chiara at Assisi (Fig. 140). Look, for instance, at the complete collapse of the body of Our Lord in our miniature and how identical it is in action with the one in the fresco.

The combination of native clumsiness and borrowed daring is well illustrated in Christ's Entry into Jerusalem (Fig. 141). The composition has been reduced to the bare necessities, as in a fourth- or fifth-century Christian stone or ivory carving. The man on the tree is as wooden as in an Indo-Persian miniature of the seventeenth or eighteenth century. And yet the draftsman ventures upon something so difficult as a figure struggling to throw his bellying cloak over his head. Even Lorenzetti at Assisi does not dare so much, although he represents people tearing off their clothes and spreading them under the Savior's feet (Van Marle, *op. cit.*, II, 356). But that unquestioned genius, Barna of Siena (*ibid.*, p. 289) depicts a man trying to free his head from the mantle which he is throwing over it for Our Lord to tread on, and Barna himself or some follower of his, may have introduced the motive into Umbria.

It is time to come to grips with data of a more restricted and therefore more cogent nature, and ask whether they can tell where and when the *Arsénal Speculum* was illuminated. We shall address ourselves first to iconography, and first of all to the Annunciation (Fig. 142). Our Lady stands in a porch embracing, as it were, one of its columns. This is a rare treatment, and although I vaguely recall approaches to it elsewhere, as in the Tree of St. Bonaventura at Sta. Maria Maggiore, Bergamo (Van Marle, *op. cit.*, IV, 219), the closest parallel is the one in the ceiling of that Madonna Chapel at Subiaco (Fig. 143), whose frescoes of toward

1400 have already been mentioned more than once in the last few paragraphs. Not so close is the earlier Umbrian fresco in S. Chiara at Assisi (Fig. 144).

We already have referred to the Crucifixion (Fig. 133) with the wild grief of the mother, and the loud wailing of the Beloved Disciple. Although feelings as strong were known to the Sieneſe—and indeed among the priceless enamels decorating the famous shrine at Orvieto, we find, as in the Deposition, a figure digging its nails into its cheek (photo. Anderson 15,479) exactly as in our miniature—yet it was, as already ſaid, only in Umbria and the Abruzzo that the Crucifixion, not as an historical ſcene but as an object of pious meditation, came to be treated with ſuch unrestrained paſſion, as we diſcover, for inſtance, in Niccolò d'Alunno with his wailing St. John.\* It had its literary equivalent in the Good Friday Laments, of which the one of Anverſa is the typical example. I diſcover the neareſt parallel to our Chriſt in a painting at the Madonna delle Grazie di Raſiglia in Foligno (p. 106 of volume on Foligno in “Italia Artistica” ſeries) and to the other figures in a fresco at Offida in the ſouthern Marcheſ, where we ſee Our Lady pulling her hair for grief and John baring his cheſt (Fig. 145), and another fresco at Subiaco with almoſt the ſame John (Colaſanti's *L'Aniene* in “Italia Artistica” ſeries, p. 115).

The Flagellation (Fig. 146) is treated in a moſt unexpected way. I recall nothing like it in any work of art of the Italian Trecento. My mind, at the ſight of it, jumps over to Donatello. The proportions of the athletic Chriſt, as well as the action of leaping under the laſh, are ſingularly unlike the dolorous but utterly ſubmiſſive Sufferer of mediæval art, and as ſingularly cloſe to the

\* A number of inſtances will be found in the recently mentioned book of Gnoli's on the Umbrian Exhibition at Perugia or in the volume on Foligno in the “Italia Artistica” ſeries, particularly pp. 90-91.

various versions of the subject due to Donatello, particularly to the earliest of them, the marble in Berlin (Fig. 147).<sup>\*</sup> I do not mean to assert that our illuminator was acquainted with even an early work of the Florentine Rembrandt who painted with clay and marble and bronze instead of oils. Yet we must bring this flagellation of his down toward the end of the fourteenth century, if not already to the beginning of the next, if we can discover such similarity of spirit and action. And oddly enough even among advanced Quattrocento paintings, I do not readily recall a composition more closely resembling it than one by Niccolò d'Alunno at Deruta (Fig. 148).<sup>†</sup> Even the Flagellation in Alunno's Louvre *predella*, painted twenty years later, where the Christ seems to squirm with pain, is nearer our design than most other treatments of the subject. Such is the tendency of the Umbrians toward violent action and expression—a tendency usually regarded as more Teutonic or Hispanic than Italian.

This motive again could scarcely have come out of the mind of our miniaturist. He must have taken it over from some far more gifted artist, some near forerunner of Donatello perhaps. It is distressing that I cannot offer tangible proof for my assertion. Happily we can in two other instances trace his borrowings.

In the Banquet of Ahasuerus (Fig. 150), the charming female tumbler, so gay, so nimble, so free from the stolidity of the other figures in this least stolid scene in our *Speculum*, is so obviously taken from a French miniature of about 1250 that no one will fail to recall parallels. Let us cite the first that happens to

<sup>\*</sup> Other interesting versions of later date on pp. xxxix, 95, and 153 of volume on Donatello in *Klassiker der Kunst*.

<sup>†</sup> Inspired by some such work of Sassetta's as the *predella* in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts representing a Flagellation between a St. Jerome and the Martyrdom of a Female Saint (Fig. 149), itself no doubt an echo of Donatello. Note how much more savage the Umbrian is than even the emotional Siennese.



come to mind, the Dance of Salome in the *Bible moralisée* reproduced by the S.F.R.M., Pl. 500. It is not in this way, but as a stately swaying, that dancing is represented by Italians, from the earliest instance I can remember, the Banquet of Ahasuerus in S. Giovanni and Paolo at Spoleto, down through the various Feasts of Herod, or Banquets of Job's Children until Fra Filippo at Prato, breaking with the tradition, turns Herodiad into a Breughel-like wench stamping the ground with her clodhopping feet.

Again in the Last Judgment (Fig. 135) Our Lord is represented with His arms bent up from the elbows, the better to show the wounds in His hands as well as in the side and feet. This is a French motive, as was pointed out by M. Mâle in his zestful and refreshing volume on the *Religious Art of the Twelfth Century in France*, going well back into that century, and first occurring at Limoges and Laon (pp. 407, 409). In Italy I can recall it only at Parma, where Antelami gives other signs of indebtedness to French sculpture, and in a miniature of about the same date as ours at Perugia (Fig. 151). The neighborhood of Assisi, with its treasures of French art, may account for the use of this particular motive in the miniatures of that town, as well as in the *Arsénal Speculum*. I venture to go so far as to suggest that the presence of this particular gesture so late as toward 1400 may go to prove that the work of art in question is Umbro-Abruzzese. For this region was more inaccessible to continuous foreign influence, and for that very reason more subject to it, when the rare occasion occurred. And that gifted foreign artists passed through this district and stopped over to pay their way with work, we may judge from a thoroughly German Coronation of 1476 by a Hans von Lübeck at Caramanico, and better still from the marvelous Rhenish group of figures representing the Crucifixion found in that part

of the world and now at Frankfurt.\* And who knows that a French sculptor did not leave, over some church door of this same country, a Last Judgment with a Christ in this attitude? It was a poor and artistically not very creative land, but wealthy noblemen and rich monasteries could, as we know, afford the carved portals and pulpits that still enrich the Abruzzo.

Oversimplification due in the first place to poverty of technical means, was mentioned some time ago as one of the chief characteristics of a provincial art. The student will already have noted the lack of articulation, of functional line, the misuse of a sort of prescientific *chiaroscuro*, and, resulting from all this, a heaviness and stolidity of figure and action. What could be more archaically undistinguished than Our Lady whenever she occurs in the *Arsenal Speculum*, even in the Annunciation (Fig. 142), where she should be full of grace, in an aesthetic as well as a sacramental sense! How much like an image from Easter Island she looks in the Last Judgment (Fig. 135). And to turn to less august personages, what but the knaves of playing cards are the two simple Simons in the Temple of the Sun (Fig. 152)? Nor is there the least attempt at individualization. The various personages are distinguished by sex only, and then roughly between youth and age. The same woman for instance is Mother Eve, is Our Lady offering the Child in the temple (Fig. 153), the Virgin Annunciate (Fig. 142), is the mother of Our Lady bringing her to the temple (Fig. 154), is Hanna offering Samuel to the Lord (Fig. 155). And interesting as the accidental result may be, the same impoverished simplification, characteristic of ultra-provincial no less than of decaying arts, has reduced the landscape to its baldest terms, to ice or iron or rock, no less bare of tree or weed or flower.

\* See Swarzenski's important observations in *Staedeljahrbuch*, I, 174, and Dehio's *Geschichte der deutschen Kunst* where it is reproduced as Fig. 264.

Now it would seem that closer and more particular parallels to all these traits are to be discovered in the provinces between the Romagna and the Neapolitan dominions than elsewhere in Italy. As I have already characterized the general features of the art of this region, it will suffice, I think, if I point to two or three telling instances.

We shall have remarked the capitals that occur here and there in our *Speculum*, as for instance in the Annunciation (Fig. 142) or the Flagellation (Fig. 146) or the seven-branched candlestick (Fig. 156). Except that they do not bulge, they are as bald as Saracenic capitals, far balder than the Cistercian. Not a flower, not an ornament. But this impoverished member abounds in the region we now have in mind. It appears early, but for our purposes Alegretto Nuzi is early enough, and we discover the identical capital in his frescoes at Fabriano, as in a Martyrdom of St. Lawrence (Fig. 157). We find it in Foligno in Bartolommeo di Tommaso's fresco of 1449 representing the transfer of the Blessed Virgin in her house to Loreto (Fig. 158), as we find it somewhat later still in the frescoes of an Umbro-Venetian character in S. Maria at Norcia (the Presentation of the Virgin for example, Fig. 159).

Another instance of impoverished simplification is the miter worn by the high priest whenever he occurs in the *Arsenal Speculum*. A good example is the one where this dignitary receives the infant Samuel (Fig. 155). His miter not only is without crowns but is reduced to the meagerest cone. It is in fact shaped like that stern daughter of the war god, an obus. Now, where else do we find this most economic of toppling headgear for an ecclesiastic but again in this same region, in the frescoes of Norcia mentioned in the last paragraph (Fig. 159)? And as if to prove that the shape was not dictated by ritual, or any other relatively free choice, but



due to incompetence, the neglect of modeling, and the meanest drawing, we discover the same shape taken by the helmets of the soldiery in the Chapel of St. Catherine at Offida, already mentioned earlier in our study (Fig. 160).\*

As we have turned over and over the leaves of the *Arsenal Speculum* we have been struck by another article of headgear, the crowns. Quite opposite to what they are in the Riches-Bibliothèque Nationale manuscript where they clasp the skull and are in themselves, pronged, jeweled, and conspicuous, they are here small, overmodest, and rest almost uneasily on the heads that wear them, as Pilate's, to cite one case (Fig. 132), or Esther's, to cite another (Fig. 150). I take it that the crown, like so much else in this region, has shrunk from the Byzantine use. You find such a diminished crown not infrequently among the paintings of the half-Byzantine school of Rimini, which, it will be remembered, exerted its influence not only high up into the Veneto but far down into Umbria, where the crown becomes at times as unsuitably small as in our *Speculum*. In Perugia you have such a crown in Matteo di Ser Cambio's matricola of 1377 representing the Coronation of Our Lady (Fig. 161). At Assisi it is seen on the head of the princess in the S. Chiara fresco of a little earlier date (Fig. 144) (representing St. George and the Dragon). In Spoleto it occurs in a late Trecento fresco of much earlier aspect at S. Giuliano (Fig. 162). At Ascoli such crowns are on the heads of the Magi in a late Trecento polyptych (photo. Ministero C. 2,516).

Miters and crowns suggest costume, and one may ask what have dress, helmets, armor, etc., to say about the place and time of

\* It is curious that almost exactly the same phenomenon is repeated in the miters found in the characteristic provincial wall paintings of Doura on the Euphrates. Breasted, *Oriental Forerunners of Byzantine Painting*, Pl. X. Syria, 1922, Pl. XXXIX-XLI.

their wearers as represented in the *Arsénal Speculum*. I trust I shall be excused if I spare students as well as myself the tedium of repeating most of what was said of this matter in connection with the Riches-Bibliothèque Nationale manuscript. Let it suffice that there is no feature of dress in the *Arsénal* miniatures which is necessarily before 1400, while on the contrary singularly close parallels in helmets and armor to those, for instance, worn by soldiers in the Betrayal (Fig. 163), and the Christ before Pilate (Fig. 164), or Pilate washing his hands (Fig. 132), occur at Foligno—be it remembered, one of the chief centers of this region, and one of the least backward—in a fresco representing two knights embracing each other between the hands of St. Michael, painted by Bartolommeo di Tommaso or a pupil of his, and in a miniature of even later fifteenth-century character, representing David and Goliath.\*

We now will look at anything that may strike us as peculiar in the architecture as well as in the landscape, and we shall have done.

Perhaps nothing in the illuminations of the *Arsénal Speculum* struck me so much as the presence of a fully developed early Renaissance cupola in the midst of designs which at first glance seemed so much earlier. I tried in vain to get rid of it as a freak, or as an accidental twist taken by some Byzantine reminiscence. I have had to conclude that the presence of a dome (Fig. 131) may be due to the fact that at a certain moment in the late Middle Ages—I wish I knew exactly when—Jerusalem could not be represented without an attempt at inserting the Dome of the Rock, as Rome could not be, without the Colosseum. This may be so, and

\* The St. Michael in the *Madonna delle Grazie* di Rasiglia reproduced on p. 107 of *Foligno* in the "Italia Artistica" series. The miniature at S. Lucia, reproduced *ibid.*, p. 108.

the Jerusalem of Jeremiah must have its Dome of the Rock, as, in many a Renaissance painting, the Rome of Romulus or the early Republic has its Tower of Nero, and even its Castel S. Angelo. Yet that the cupola should have such a definite Quattrocento aspect was not necessitated by anything our illuminator could have known of Jerusalem. It may point to the fact that he was working at a time when such cupolas were already "in the air" so to speak, if not already upon ground-gripping buildings, and I am led to ask whether the particular time was not already well on in the fifteenth century. Even in Tuscany, the earliest approach that I can discover to a representation of a cupola like this occurs in Cennino Cennini's fresco of the Emperor Heraclius and the True Cross at Volterra painted in 1410 (Fig. 165). In Subiaco in a Last Supper of no earlier date (Fig. 166) the cupolas of the apses are far less Renaissance in style.\* And so it is in the distinctly early Quattrocento frescoes of the Town Hall at Foligno (p. 58 of *Foligno* in "Italia Artistica" series).

And just as the cupola was for our purpose the most significant feature for the architecture, so, for the landscape, are the fluted, piped basaltic rocks with something like a key for a section. Indeed it happens to be the only characteristic of this landscape, which is so impoverished and schematized that it tends to suggest icebergs as in the Jonah (Fig. 134) rather than more temperate scenery.

Now this arabesque has its own history. If this were the place to write it, we could attempt to trace it back to Pompeian painting. It suffices for our purpose to know that we find it al-

\* It is interesting that the closest parallel that I can find to the cupola in the *Arsenal Speculum* occurs in another representation of Jerusalem painted well on in the fifteenth century by some backward artist such as our region produced, but much more subject to Byzantine influences. I refer to the frescoes in S. Caterina at Galatina in what was till a few years ago Greek-speaking southern Italy (Fig. 167).



ready singularly close to what it is in our Speculum at S. Vitale in Ravenna, in the mosaic representing Moses, for instance, or the other, Luke, with the difference that the landscape has not, as yet, shrunk to the mere abbreviation that we find in our Speculum. Then throughout the long reign of Byzantinism in Italy variants of this calligraphy occur everywhere, as they still do in Giotto's fresco of Francis causing water to gush forth from a stone, in Duccio's *Maestà*, in the *Noli me Tangere*, for example, or in the Cavallinesque fresco of the Marys at the Tomb at Donna Anna Regina in Naples (Fig. 168). Then it tends to disappear under the more plastic convention for rocks and trees introduced by the mature Giotto. It lingers, however, with every other old fashion, in the eastern or southern and more backward regions of Italy, and of course in the second city of the Byzantine world, I mean Venice. If you find this arabesque elsewhere you may look for other signs of Byzantine influence, as I do for example in Cennino Cennini's fresco of the True Cross (Fig. 165), or in almost any of Lorenzo Monaco's landscapes.

The arabesque is, however, not so stereotyped but that it shows slight variants. I have taken the trouble to study them, and venture to conclude that the point reached in our Speculum suggests the paintings of toward 1400 at Mistra, such a work of nearly the same date as the Byzantine-Venetian *Liber Trojanus*, formerly in the Yates-Thompson Collection,\* or the Byzantino-Italian frescoes already referred to at Galatina, for instance, the "Joachim in the Wilderness" (Fig. 167). Similar, but still later, is the landscape in the Crucifixion of the Madonna delle Grazie di Rasiglia at Foligno, which, as we remember, is on the edge of the

\* *Illustrations of One Hundred Manuscripts in the Yates-Thompson Collection*, II, Pl. XXIII-XXV.

region where the rest of the evidence tends to place our *Speculum* (*Foligno* in "Italia Artistica" series, p. 106).\*

I shall pursue the inquiry no further, although other evidence tending in the same direction could be squeezed out of the materials. For me, however, what would be more to the point would be if I could convey to fellow students the sense beyond analysis and inquiry that this *Arsenal Speculum* must have been illuminated by a miniature painter from the region between *Foligno*, *Chieti*, and *Spoletto*. He may have lived in some mountain fastness of a monastery like *Avellana* in the folds of the *Monte Catria*, but much farther south. He must have worked just after rather than just before 1400.

[Settignano, March, 1925.]

\* A very kindred landscape consisting of terraces and blocks of quartz, or of half-melted ice or even alum or camphor, rather than rocks and boulders and trees is all but universal in every school derived from Constantinople, and was current in Russia until the other day. See the reproductions in Vol. VI of Grabar's *History of Russian Art*.







FIG. 90

IMAGE OF OUR LADY  
SPECULUM RICHES



FIG. 91

DAVID AND THE PROPHET NATHAN  
SPECULUM RICHES

non intercedat pro peccatis et maneat in aeternum.



FIG. 92

EXODUS OF THE JEWS  
SPECULUM BIBL. NAT.

virginem et uirum uide et quec uideat



FIG. 93

VIRGIN APPEARING TO A MONK  
SPECULUM RICHES





FIG. 94

AUGUSTUS AND THE SYBIL  
SPECULUM RICHES





FIG. 95

THE THREE MAGI  
SPECULUM RICHES

hual pferant si lici hosti filios isrl

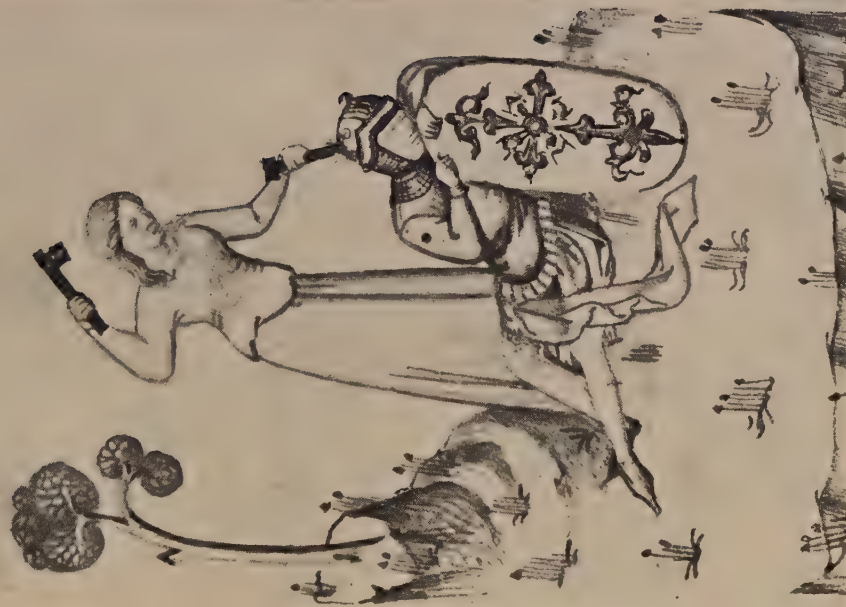


FIG. 96

Jael and Sisera  
Speculum Riches

.Dd miferat urfu q lamem.

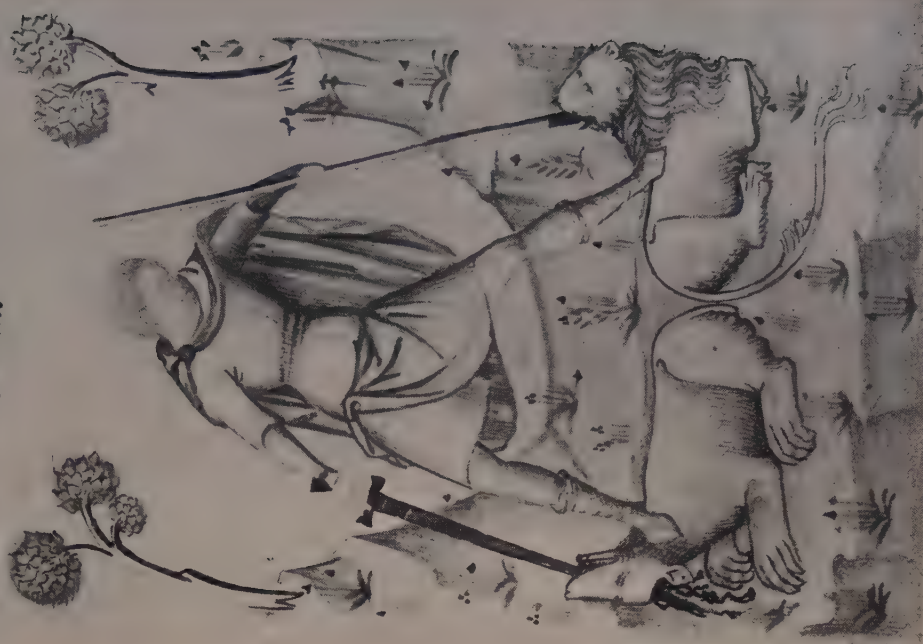


FIG. 97

David slaying the lion and  
the bear  
Speculum Riches





FIG. 98

CREATION OF EVE  
SPECULUM BIBL. NAT.

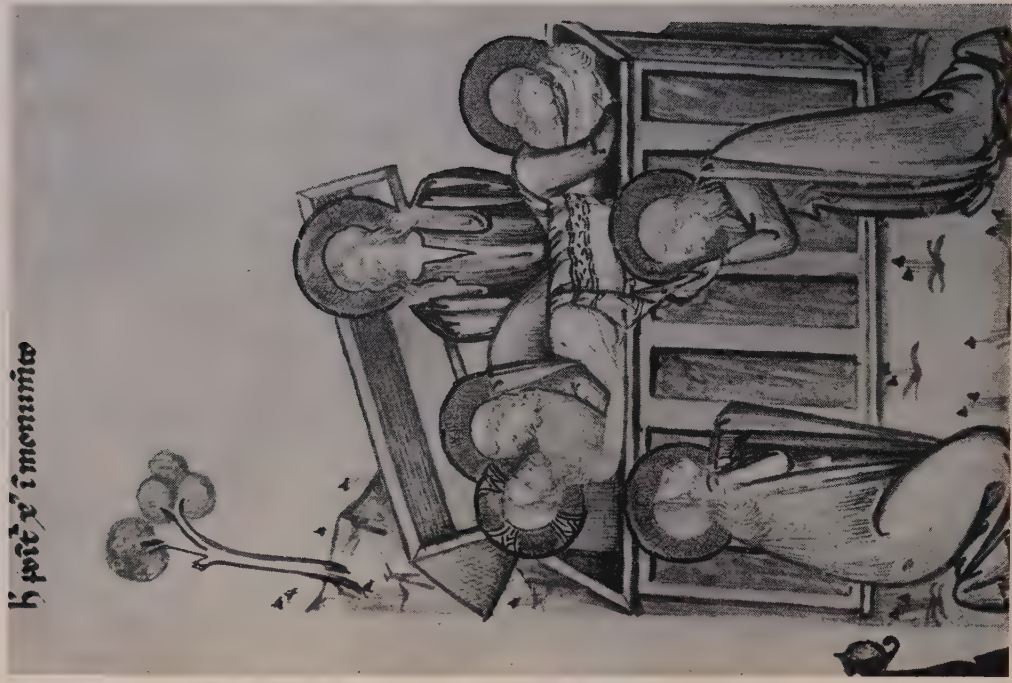


FIG. 99

ENTOMBMENT  
SPECULUM RICHES





FIG. 100

CHRIST AND JOHN THE BAPTIST

MS FR. 9591, BIBL. NAT., PARIS



FIG. IOI

ANGEL ANNOUNCING THE DEATH OF  
THE VIRGIN  
SPECULUM BIBL. NAT.





FIG. 102

AGNOLO GADDI: ANNUNCIATION  
S. MINIATO, FLORENCE



FIG. 103

CRUCIFIXION  
SPECULUM RICHES





FIG. 104

ROSSELLO DI JACOPO FRANCO: CRUCIFIXION  
ACADEMY, FLORENCE



FIG. 105  
LAST JUDGMENT  
SPECULUM BIBL. NAT.

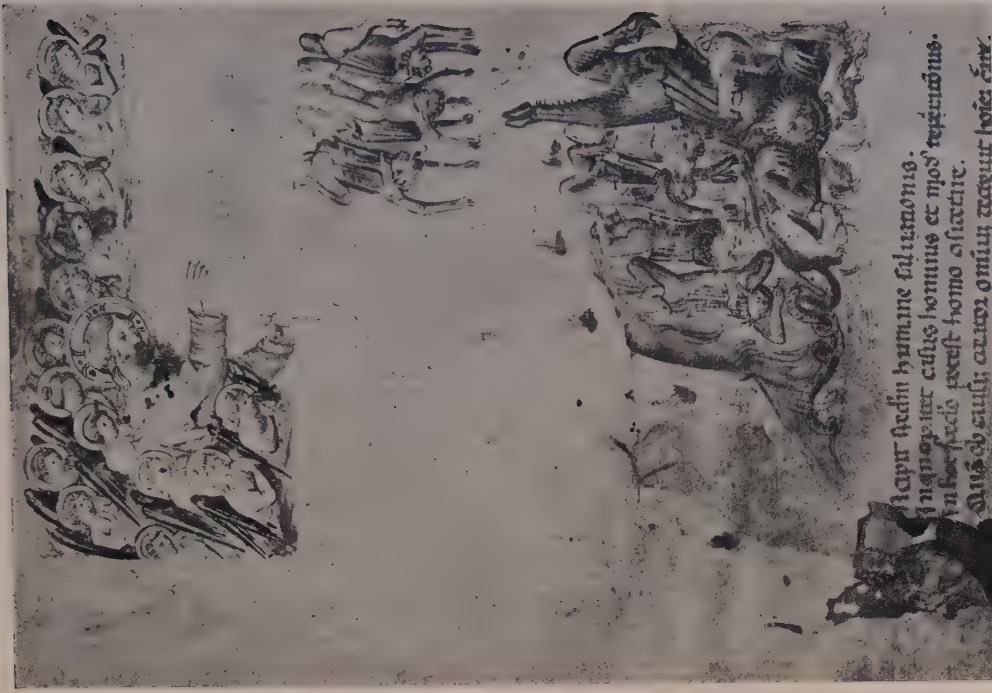


FIG. 106  
FALL OF LUCIFER  
SPECULUM BIBL. NAT.





FIG. 107

ADAM AND EVE  
SPECULUM BIBL. NAT.

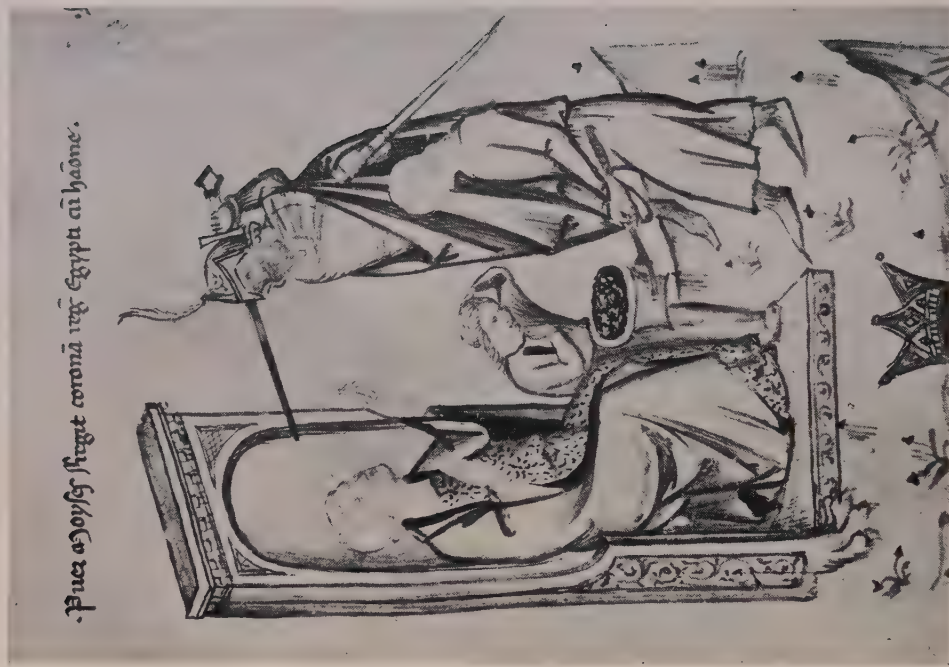


FIG. 108

THE TRIAL OF MOSES  
SPECULUM RICHES





FIG. 109

RETURN OF THE PRODIGAL SON  
SPECULUM RICHES

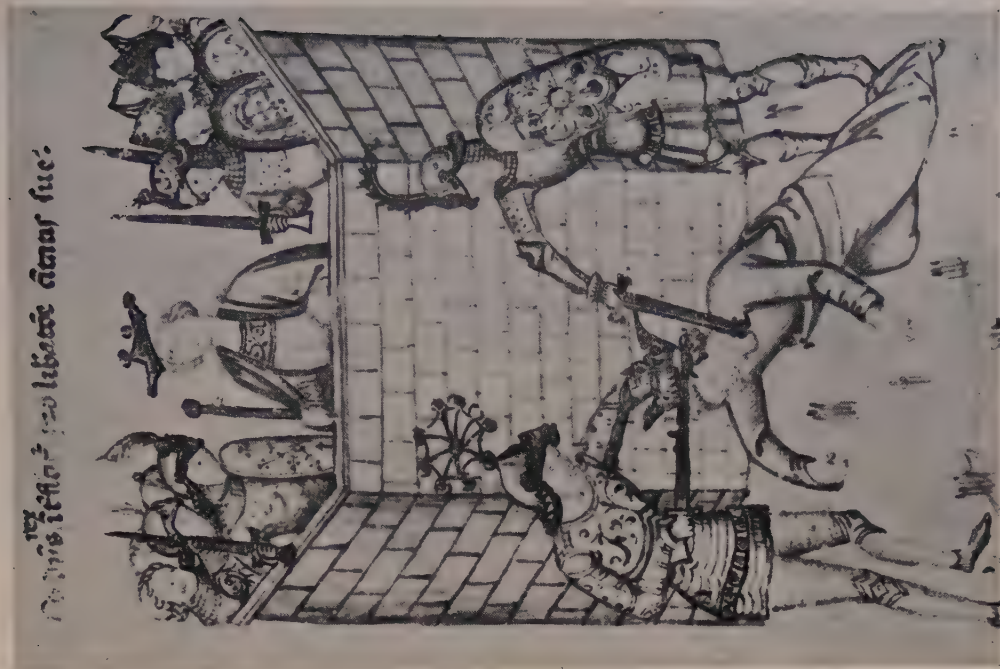


FIG. 110

DEATH OF CODRUS  
SPECULUM RICHES



FIG. III

TEMPTATION OF ST. HILARY  
MORGAN MS 626, NEW YORK



FIG. II 2

SOLOMON ENTHRONED  
SPECULUM RICHES





FIG. 113

ROSSELLO DI JACOPO FRANCO: ST. CATHERINE  
S. DOMENICO, S. MINIATO AL TEDESCO





FIG. 114

GIOVANNI DEL BIONDO: ST. CATHERINE DISPUTING  
OTTO KAHN COLLECTION, NEW YORK





FIG. 115

LORENZO DI NICOLÒ: MADONNA  
A. KINGSLEY PORTER, CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

Naaman syri' lapsus. laudat' septus in iordane.



FIG. 116

NAAMAN WASHING IN THE JORDAN  
SPECULUM RICHES



FIG. 117

THE ARK OF THE COVENANT  
SPECULUM RICHES





FIG. 118  
FEAST OF AHASUERUS  
SPECULUM RICHES



FIG. 119  
PILATE WASHING HIS HANDS  
SPECULUM RICHES

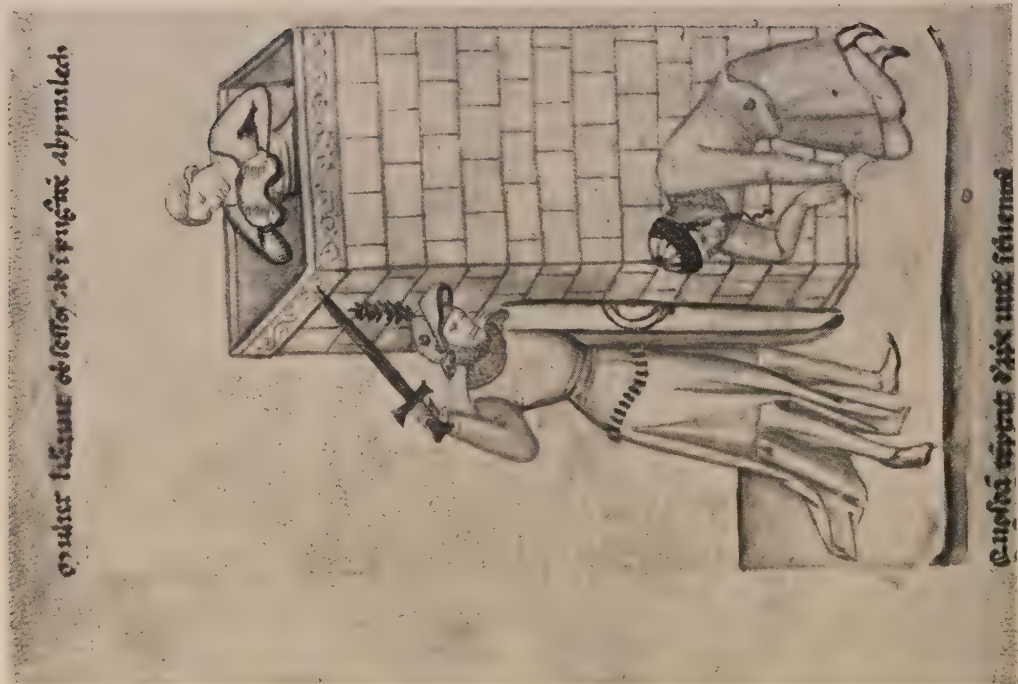


FIG. 120

DEATH OF ABIMELECH  
 SPECULUM BIBL. NAT.

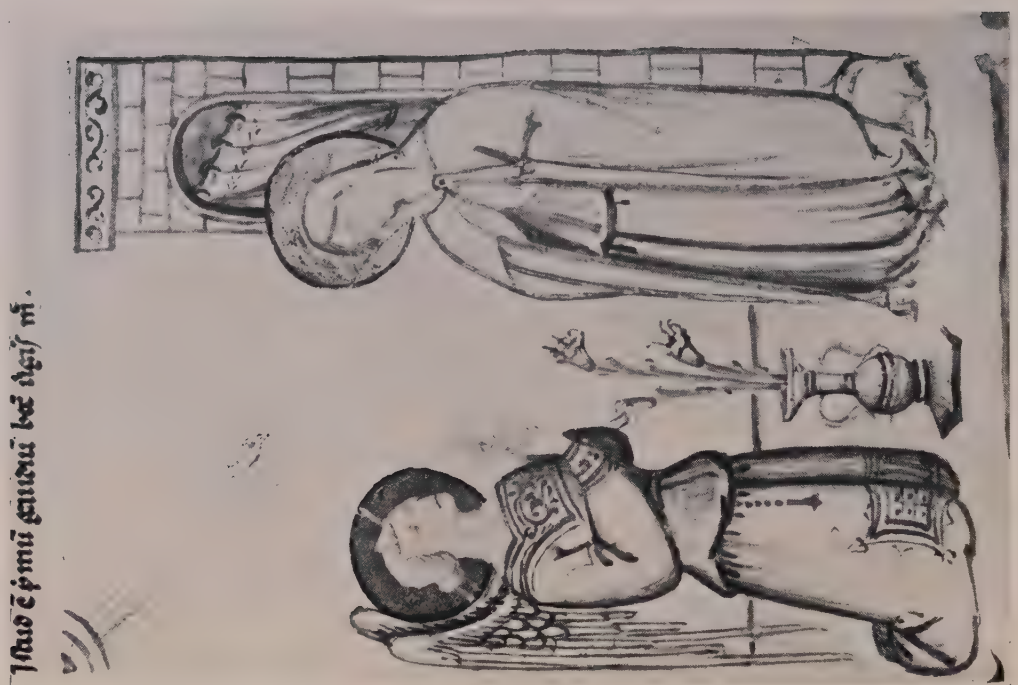


FIG. 121

ANNUNCIATION  
 SPECULUM RICHES





FIG. 123

JONAH THROWN OVERBOARD  
SPECULUM RICHES

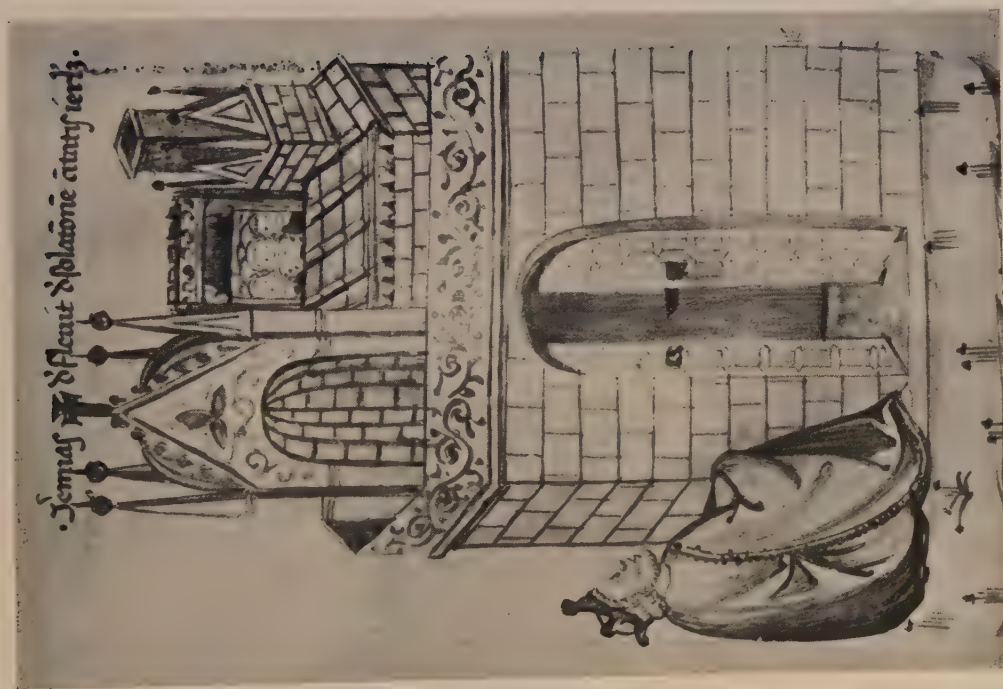


FIG. 122

JEREMIAH  
SPECULUM RICHES





FIG. 124

JONAH EMERGING FROM THE  
WHALE'S BELLY  
SPECULUM BIBL. NAT.



FIG. 125

MACCABEUS KILLING THE ELEPHANT  
SPECULUM RICHES



FIG. 126

TREE OF JESSE  
SPECULUM BIBL. NAT.





FIG. 127

GIOVANNI DEL BIONDO: CORONATION OF VIRGIN  
ART GALLERY, LIVERPOOL



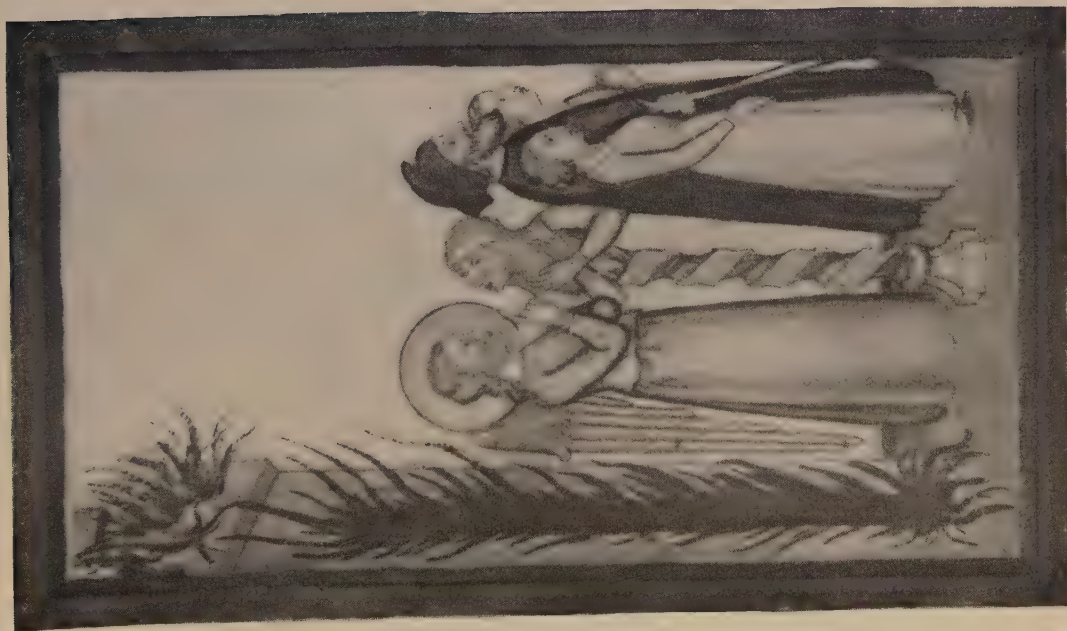


FIG. 128

LOT AND HIS DAUGHTERS  
SPECULUM ARSÉNAL



FIG. 129

RETURN OF THE PRODIGAL SON  
SPECULUM ARSÉNAL



FIG. 130

DAVID AND THE PROPHET NATHAN

SPECULUM ARSÉNAL

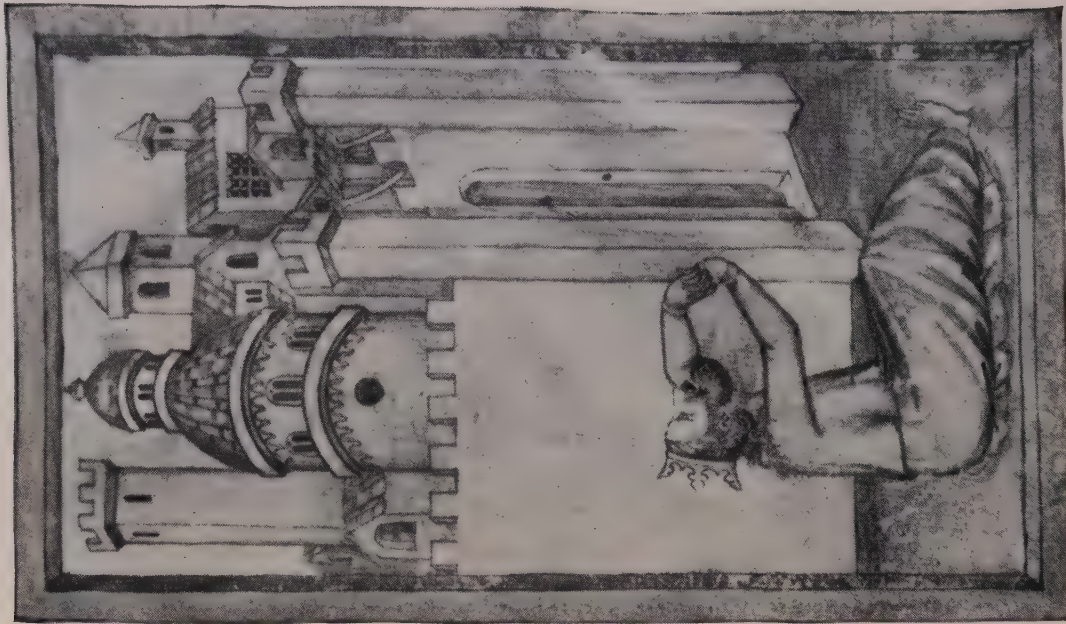


FIG. 131

JEREMIAH

SPECULUM ARSÉNAL



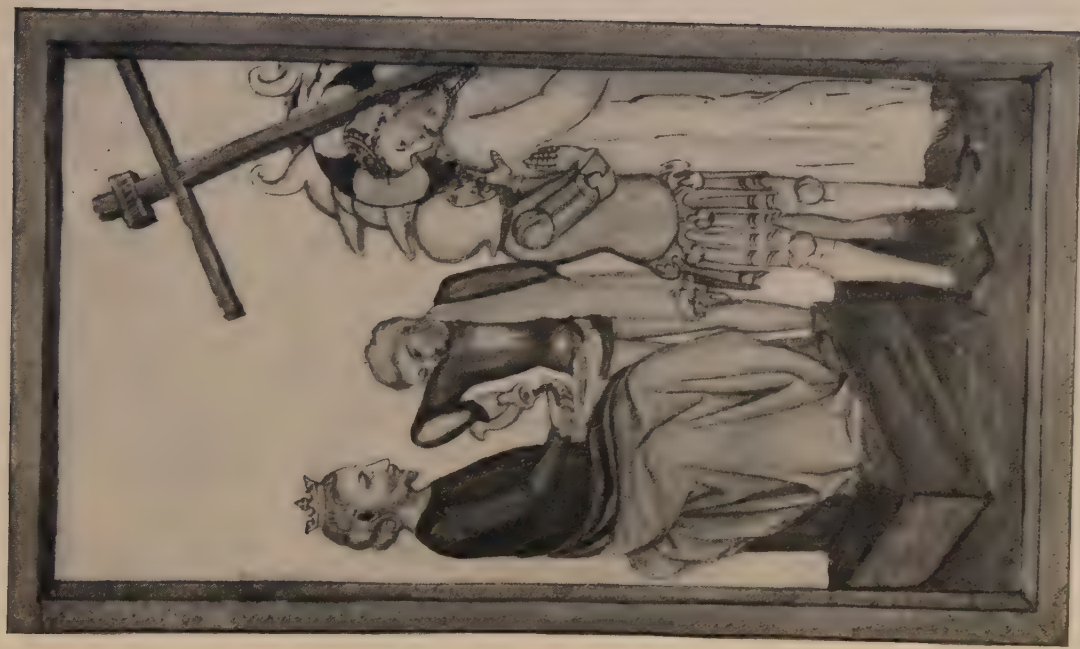


FIG. 132

PILATE WASHING HIS HANDS  
SPECULUM ARSÉNAL

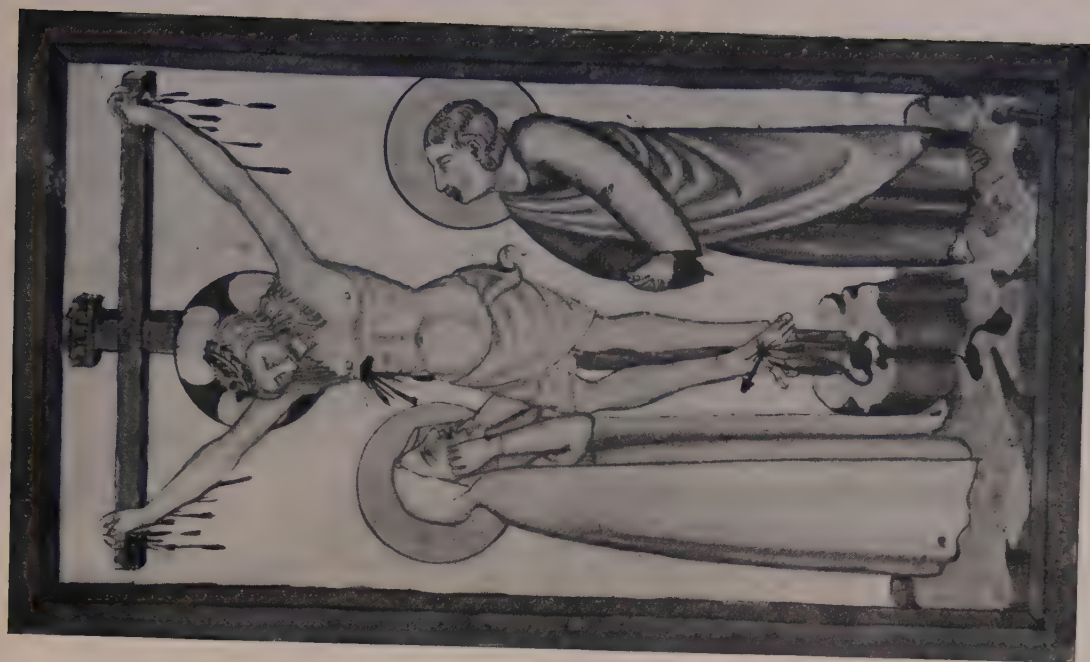


FIG. 133

CRUCIFIXION  
SPECULUM ARSÉNAL





FIG. 134

JONAH EMERGING FROM THE  
WHALE'S BELLY  
SPECULUM ARSÉNAL



FIG. 135

LAST JUDGMENT  
SPECULUM ARSÉNAL



FIG. 136

CHRIST'S ENTRY INTO JERUSALEM

MORGAN MS 643, NEW YORK





FIG. 137

PIETÀ

MORGAN MS 643, NEW YORK



FIG. 138

DESCENT FROM THE CROSS  
SPECULUM ARSÉNAL



FIG. 139

ENTOMBMENT  
SPECULUM ARSÉNAL





FIG. 140

SCHOOL OF PIETRO LORENZETTI: DEPOSITION AND ENTOMBMENT

S. CHIARA, ASSISI



FIG. 141

CHRIST'S ENTRY INTO JERUSALEM  
SPECULUM ARSÉNAL



FIG. 142

ANNUNCIATION  
SPECULUM ARSÉNAL





FIG. 143

UMBRO-SIENESE SCHOOL: ANNUNCIATION

SACRO SPECO, SUBIACO



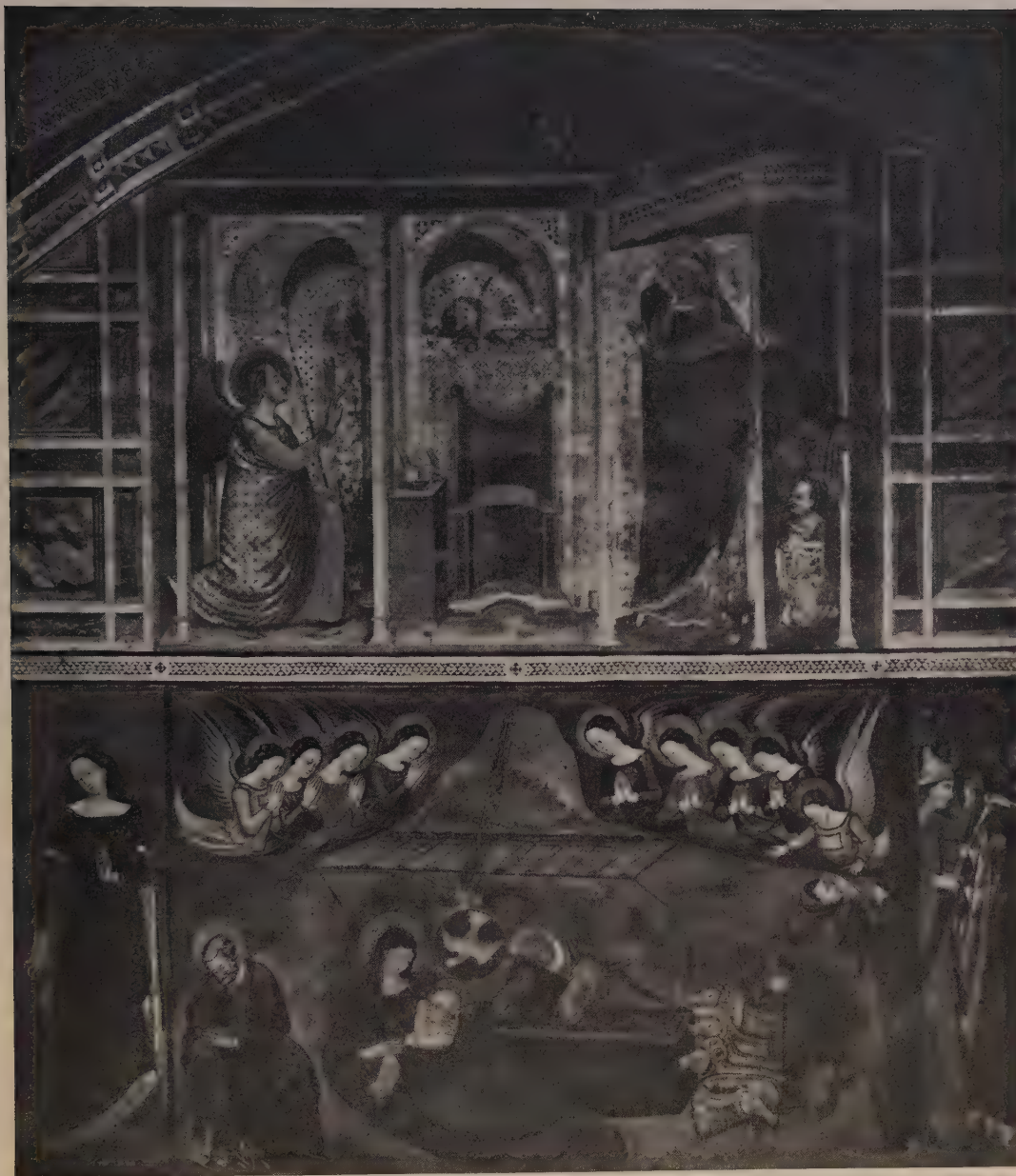


FIG. 144

UMBRIAN SCHOOL: ANNUNCIATION  
S. CHIARA, ASSISI





FIG. 145

UMBRO-MARCHIGIAN SCHOOL: CRUCIFIXION  
CHAPEL OF ST. CATHERINE, OFFIDA



FIG. 146  
FLAGELLATION  
SPECULUM ARSÉNAL





FIG. 147

DONATELLO: FLAGELLATION

K. F. MUSEUM, BERLIN



FIG. 148

NICCOLÒ D'ALUNNO: FLAGELLATION  
MUNICIPIO, DERUTA



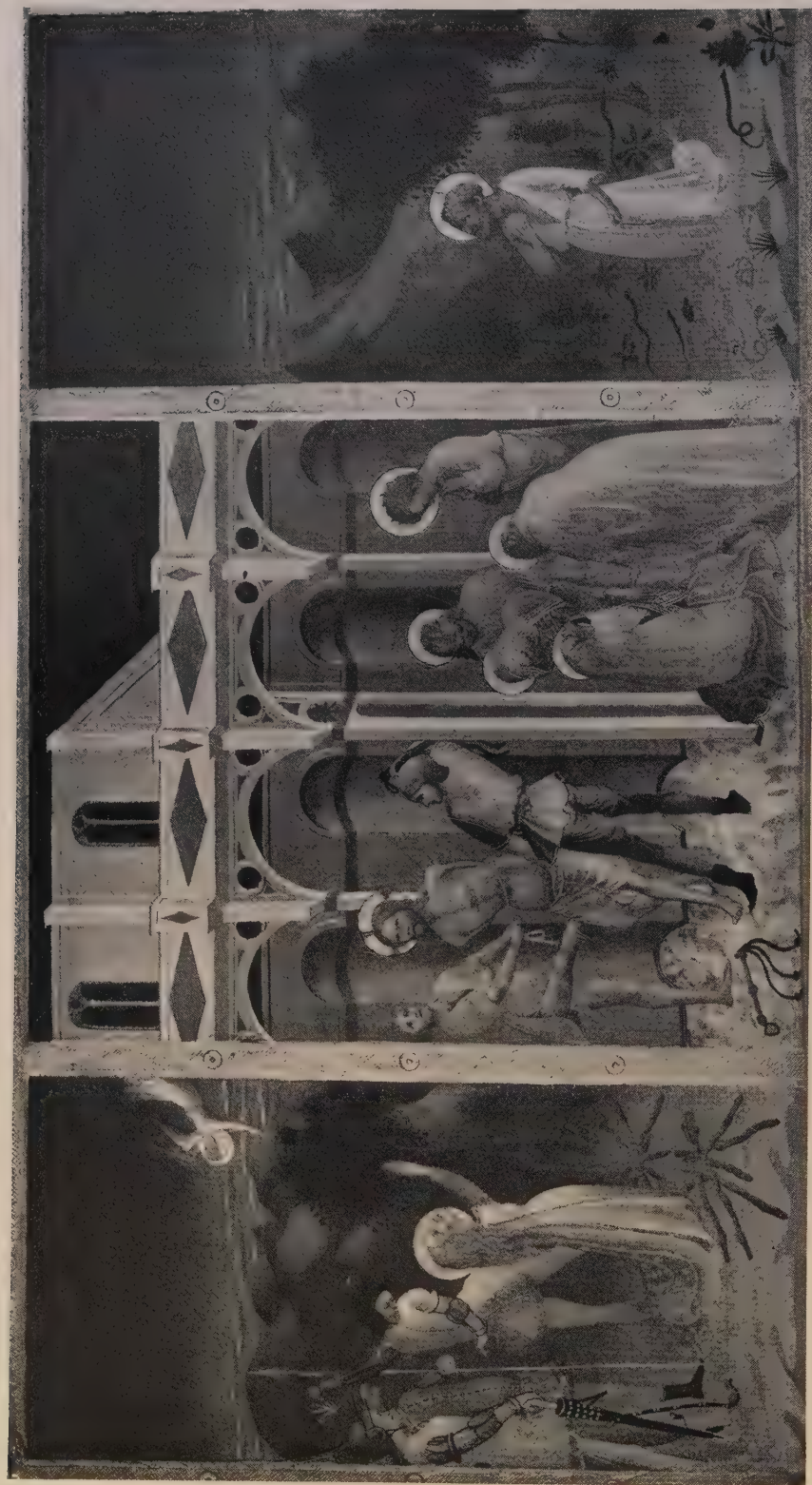


FIG. 149

SASSETTA: FLAGELLATION  
MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON



FIG. 150

FEAST OF AHASUERUS  
SPECULUM ARSÉNAL





FIG. 151

PERUGIAN MINIATURE: LAST JUDGMENT  
PINACOTECA, PERUGIA



FIG. 152

THE TEMPLE OF THE SUN  
SPECULUM ARSÉNAL



FIG. 153

PRESENTATION OF CHRIST IN THE  
TEMPLE  
SPECULUM ARSÉNAL





FIG. 154

PRESENTATION OF THE VIRGIN IN  
THE TEMPLE

SPECULUM ARSÉNAL



FIG. 155

HANNAH OFFERING SAMUEL TO  
THE LORD

SPECULUM ARSÉNAL



FIG. 156  
THE SEVEN BRANCHED  
CANDLESTICK  
SPECULUM ARSÉNAL





FIG. 157

ALEGRETTO NUZI: MARTYRDOM OF ST. LAWRENCE  
CATHEDRAL, FABRIANO





FIG. 158

BARTOLOMMEO DA FOLIGNO: MIRACULOUS TRANSFER OF THE HOUSE OF  
LORETO

PINACOTECA, FOLIGNO





FIG. 159

UMBRO-VENETIAN SCHOOL: PRESENTATION OF THE VIRGIN  
IN THE TEMPLE  
S. MARIA, NORCIA





FIG. 160

UMBRO-MARCHIGIAN SCHOOL: SCENES FROM LIFE OF  
ST. CATHERINE

CHAPEL OF ST. CATHERINE, OFFIDA





FIG. 161

PERUGIAN MINIATURE: CORONATION OF VIRGIN  
COLLEGIO DEL CAMBIO, PERUGIA



FIG. 162

UMBRIAN SCHOOL: CORONATION OF VIRGIN  
S. GIULIANO, SPOLETO





FIG. 163

BETRAYAL OF JUDAS  
SPECULUM ARSÉNAL

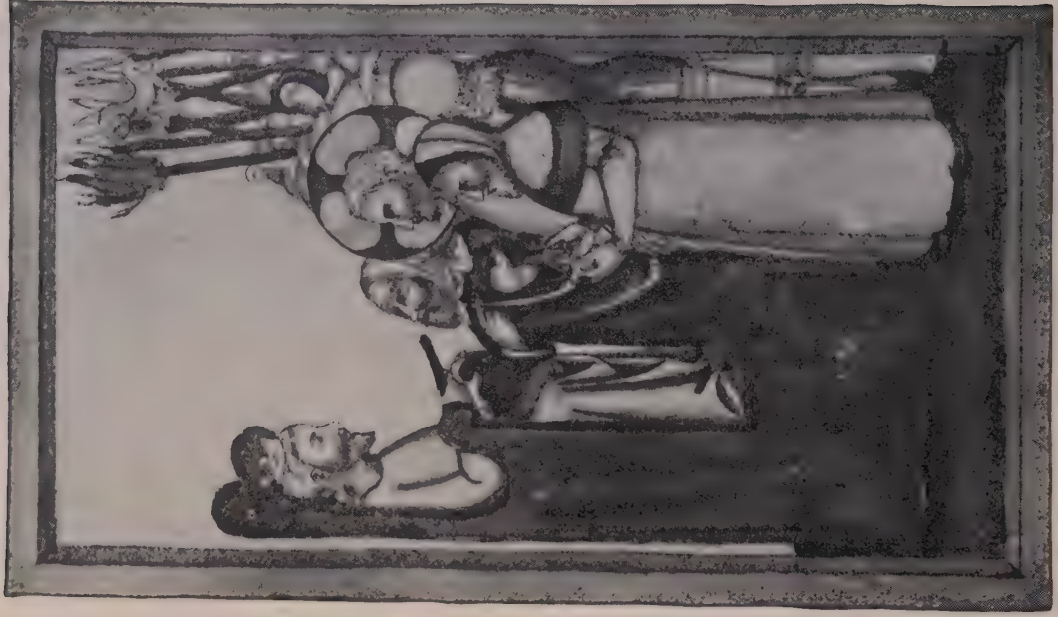


FIG. 164

CHRIST BEFORE PILATE  
SPECULUM ARSÉNAL



FIG. 165

CENNINO CENNINI: LEGEND OF THE TRUE CROSS

S. FRANCESCO, VOLTERRA



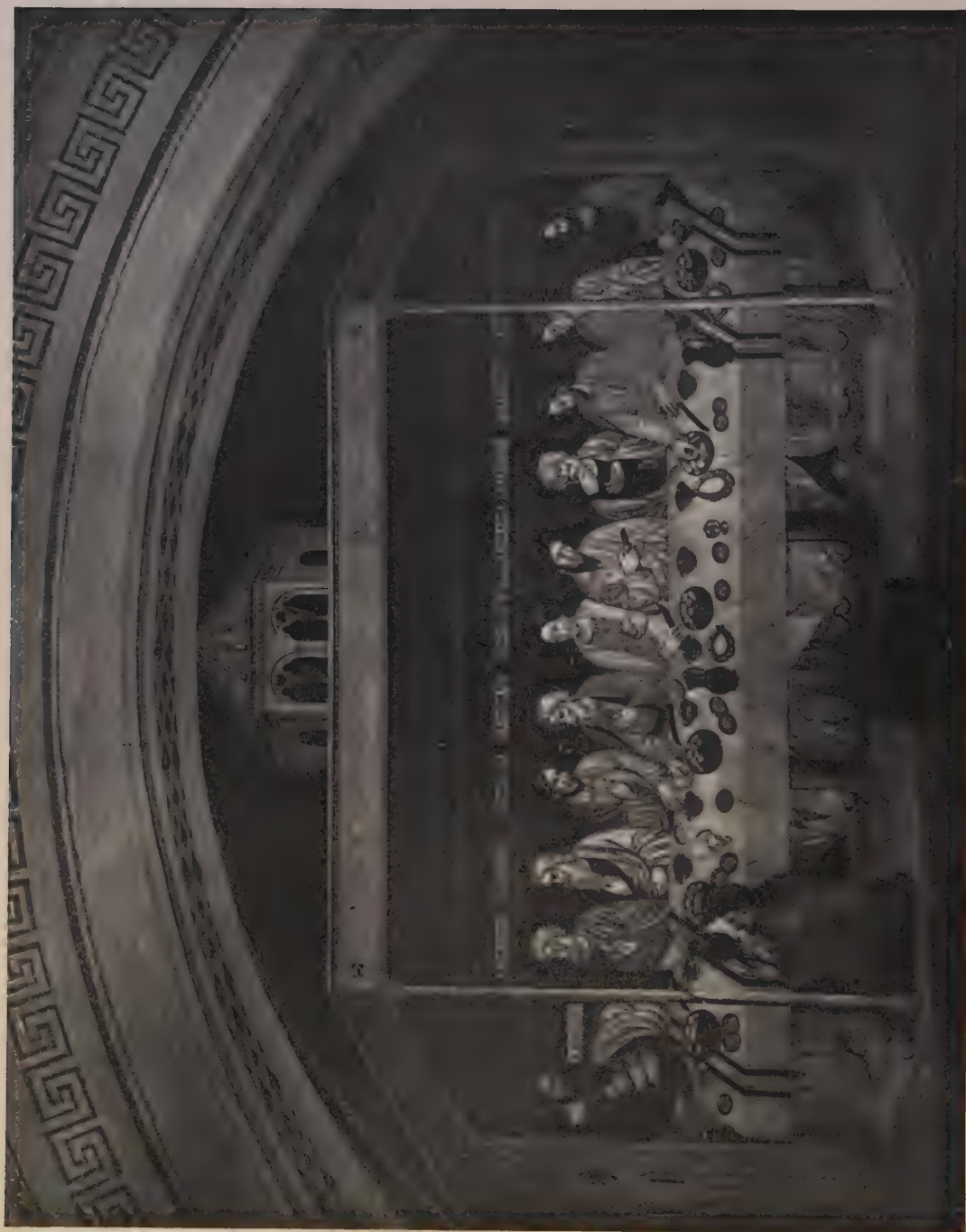


FIG. 166

UMBRO-SIENESE SCHOOL: LAST SUPPER

SACRO SPECO, SUBIACO



FIG. 167

STORY OF ST. ANNE AND ST. JOACHIM  
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